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# OEHLenschlÆGER'S RELATION TO GERMAN ROMANTICISM<sup>1</sup>

The relationship of Adam OehlenschlÆger to German Romanticism has never been made the subject of a thorough examination. There are many partial studies, which are excellent as far as they go, and much sweeping generalization, which has, it would appear, given rise to certain misconceptions. For example, the current opinion which finds expression in the manuals on Danish literature is that OehlenschlÆger started out as a young writer along conventional eighteenth century lines, that he was "converted" suddenly by Steffens to romanticism of the German type, and that after paying homage to this school for three years or so he discovered finally the true bent of his genius and became permanently the idealizing poet of Scandinavian antiquity. While it is manifestly true that there are three such stages in OehlenschlÆger's development, it is nevertheless impossible to draw sharp lines of demarcation. OehlenschlÆger's was a mind naturally romantic. He was romantic when he wrote *Erik og Roller*, his first work of any length, and romantic when he composed *Dina*, his last notable drama. The contact with Steffens merely brought his latent, inherent romanticism to self-consciousness; nor did he abrogate this romanticism when he turned to the Norse sagas for his inspiration. Even in the years of the strongest German influence OehlenschlÆger

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the complete works of OehlenschlÆger and of the leading German romanticists, and the standard treatises on German Romanticism of Haym, Brandes, Huch, et al., the chief works requisite for a study of the problems involved in this paper are as follows:

(1) C. L. N. Mynster, *Mindeblade om OehlenschlÆger og hans Kreds*, containing a valuable collection of letters to and from OehlenschlÆger. (2) K. Arentzen, *Baggesen og OehlenschlÆger*, the eight volumes of which furnish an occasional pertinent fact amid a heap of irrelevant material. (3) H. Steffens, *Was ich erlebte* (especially vols. 5 and 6), extracts from which have recently been published under the title *Lebenserinnerungen aus dem Kreis der Romantik*. (4) V. Andersen, *Adam OehlenschlÆger: et Livs Poesi*, 3 vols. (5) L. Schröder, *Adam OehlenschlÆger og den romantiske Skole*, a work of uneven merit, containing some good detailed criticism along with some hasty generalizations. (6) A. Blanck, *Den nordiska Renæssansen i Sjutton-hundratalets Litteratur*, Stockholm, 1911, the most recent and thorough investigation of the so-called "Gothic revival."

Reference will be made when occasion requires to other more specialized works. General treatises on the history of literature such as those of Horn, Schweitzer, Hansen and others offer but slight help.

preserved his individuality and independence. In other words, he presents the spectacle of a perfectly normal development, not uninfluenced indeed by external forces, but essentially following the bent of his own temperament. In Swedish literature a distinction is made between Phosphorism, or romanticism of the peculiarly German iridescence, and Gothicism with its glorification of the Scandinavian past.<sup>2</sup> In Danish literature Oehlenschläger combines both of these tendencies, and it will frequently be found undesirable or indeed impossible to separate them. Other aspects of Oehlenschläger have likewise been inadequately treated, as, for instance, his attitude toward Catholicism or toward mediævalism, his relative indebtedness to the various German romanticists, etc. An attempt will be made in this paper to show in outline his consistent development down to 1805, and it is the writer's hope that a second paper may some time trace this development further through his less overtly romantic period, and, among other things, demonstrate the continued influence of Tieck and the perhaps unsuspected influence of the German fate-drama.

Oehlenschläger's connections with Germany were multiplied and intensified by his having been partly of German descent and by his having had the very serious ambition to become a German poet. "It seems," he said, "as if fate had decreed that I should belong to both nations." He had before him the example of his fellow countryman, Baggesen, who wrote in both languages, and of Staffeldt, who though a German wrote Danish with facility and correctness. Though Oehlenschläger's attempts in German poetry undoubtedly served to bind him more closely to the culture of Weimar and Jena and Berlin, it is nevertheless to be regretted that he did not confine himself to Danish. If one reads, for instance, such a play as *Correggio* in its original German form, one gets the impression of a certain undistinguished ease but of no originality. Brandes has even pointed out<sup>3</sup> that Oehlenschläger's command of German though fluent was faulty, and that he was guilty of many Danicisms. His ambition to shine as a German poet must therefore be regarded as misdirected. It is significant that, whereas on the one hand the Germans have never regarded him as one of their

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. B. Benson of Dartmouth College in a dissertation about to be published has shown that this distinction is largely traditional and without intrinsic value. The Phosphorists themselves were thoroughly imbued with Gothicism.

<sup>3</sup> *Samlæde Skrifter, Folkeudgave*, I, 245 ff.

own, on the other hand the culmination of his career was his coronation by Tegnér in 1829 as the "Northern King of Song," the poet *par excellence* of the Scandinavian north.

Again, it must be borne in mind that the intellectual relations between Denmark and Germany were of the closest sort. The kinship of the languages, the intercourse between the literary circles, the reciprocal influences of a literary nature, all combined to make the two countries an intellectual unit. The cultural lines were as continuous as the national borders. Thus, for instance, Gerstenberg and Klopstock had been the inspiration of Ewald, who was Oehlenschläger's great predecessor in the drama of northern theme.<sup>4</sup> As a further preliminary, one must take into account the steady infiltration of early romanticism as exemplified by Rousseau, Ossian, and the poets of the German Sturm und Drang movement. The reading of *Götz* and *Werther* was a revelation to Oehlenschläger in his nineteenth year. Thus the romantic basis of his career was laid.

In 1800 the University of Copenhagen offered a prize for the best essay on the question whether northern mythology furnished suitable subjects for treatment in the plastic arts. Oehlenschläger was one of three competitors and very naturally took the affirmative standpoint. He received a *proxime accessit*, the first prize being awarded to a candidate who urged the superiority of Greek mythology. His discussion is purely theoretical and is confined to the artistic question. There is no trace of that fantastic nature-philosophy with which he was soon to invest some of his northern material. On the other hand, his preference for the inchoate, undeveloped matter of Scandinavia as against the perfected art of Greece is in itself a sufficient indication of his romantic bent of mind.

About this time we find Oehlenschläger studying Icelandic with the aid of Swedish translations and reading Snorri and Saxo Grammaticus in the search for tragic or heroic material. It was from Saxo's *History of Denmark* that he took the subject of his first longer work of importance, the prose-novelette, *Erik og Roller*. This unfinished work, which was abandoned by its author as unworthy after his memorable meeting with Steffens, was not

<sup>4</sup> Blanck in *Den nordiska Renässansen*, Chapter V, points out that the original impulse came from O. F. Müller in Denmark.

published until 1897.<sup>5</sup> It deserves something more than passing attention, since it is the best index of Oehlenschläger's state of mind before his direct contact with German romanticism. The story relates the adventures, both amorous and martial, of two brothers. The style is on the whole clear and direct, but with a tendency to rhythmic prose in the more lyric parts and with frequently interspersed verses according to the approved romantic method. The whole is steeped in the lachrymose sentimentality of the later 18th Century with tears on almost every page. It is not difficult to detect the more specific influence of Ossian and *Werther*. The moon is referred to once as "Fingals Skjold," and there are several such Ossianic passages as "Hver Midnat, naar Maanen, den gule Dødnig, staar højst paa Himlen, skal han bæve hen over Blomsterne, og Vestvinden skal sukke: 'Forglem ham ei!'" The general situation of two comrades being in love with one maiden is thoroughly Wertheresque, and the lament of the heroine, "Dersom jeg ikke elskede Erik, da elskede jeg Roller," sounds like an echo of Lotte. Erik speaks like a Sturm und Drang hero when he says to King Gothar: "Min Lykke er at følge mit eget Hoved, nyde min Frihed og gjøre hvad jeg selv synes er Ret." There is one rationalistic touch: what purports at first to be an apparition of the god Thor turns out to be a mystification. It is noteworthy that this rationalism, which was an authentic though meagre strain in Oehlenschläger's nature, reappears even in his most ostensibly romantic work, *Aladdin*. Unconscious nature-pantheism abounds, but there is no nature-symbolism of the Schelling-Steffens sort. The story appears to weaken toward the end of the fragment and the style to grow pale. It seems evident now that Oehlenschläger needed light from without before he could obtain inner clarity. His mind was prepared for the romantic message; he had turned for inspiration to the Scandinavian past and had become initiated into the Sturm und Drang, that preliminary romantic movement; and to add to the quickening of his sensibilities he was in love and betrothed. Never did seed fall on more receptive soil than did the ideas of Steffens on the mind of the young poet in that memorable interview which was to bring about his "conversion." It is unfortunate that we have an account of this event only from Oehlenschläger. We may assume, however, since Steffens refers

<sup>5</sup> *Erik og Roller, en hidtil utrykt Fortælling udgiven med Indledning og Noter ved Viggo Bierring, Det nordiske Forlag, Kjøbenhavn, 1897.*

his readers to it, that the report is substantially correct and that he has nothing important to add. The facts are briefly as follows:<sup>6</sup> Steffens and Oehlenschläger had already met twice in a casual way and on the second occasion had become engaged in a controversy because Oehlenschläger had defended Lessing against the aspersions of Steffens. Oehlenschläger then visited Steffens on a summer-morning of the year 1802, and the interview lasted until three o'clock the following morning, in all some sixteen hours. The time was spent variously—in eating, drinking, and walking about, but the accompanying conversation seems never to have strayed from the subject of poetry and the new school in Germany, for which Steffens made himself the spokesman. The interview was a revelation to Oehlenschläger and marked an epoch in his development. He suppressed the partly printed *Erik og Roller* and rejected many of his early poems. New vistas were opened to him, and, what is more significant, a new light was kindled in his eye. Reading carefully Oehlenschläger's account of the interview, we see that what he received from Steffens was not so much new ideas as a new attitude. Steffens indeed made this admission himself:<sup>7</sup> "Man hat dennoch meinen Einfluss auf ihn überschätzt. Ich gab ihn sich selber." Writing twenty-six years after the event, Oehlenschläger points out that what impressed him most was Steffens' exaltation of the beautiful above the useful. Poetry should cease to be a pretty device to beguile one's leisure and should be made the crown of life. And secondly, poetry was to receive a philosophic basis. Steffens, as a disciple of Schelling, expounded the latter's nature-philosophy, and Oehlenschläger, who had essentially an unphilosophic mind and who later confessed his inability to work through the terminology of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, was temporarily impressed by the artistic possibilities which the new doctrine disclosed. Lastly, Steffens called Oehlenschläger's attention to his two favorite poets, Novalis and Tieck, the latter of whom was destined to exert an enduring influence upon the Dane.

Oehlenschläger, according to his own statement,<sup>8</sup> went home the day following this momentous conversation and wrote the poem, *Guldhornene*, in which his attitude toward his own age is clearly symbolized. Among the most valued treasures in the Kunst-

<sup>6</sup> *Selbstbiographie*, I, chap. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 220.

<sup>8</sup> *Erindringer*, I, p. 188.

kammer at Copenhagen had been two golden horns dating from Scandinavian antiquity, one of which had been found by a young girl in 1639 and the other by a peasant in 1734. On the night of May 4, 1802, these golden horns had been stolen from the Kunstkammer. At the time of the writing of the poem, therefore, the incident was still fresh in the minds of all the Danish people and the identity of the thief a matter of wondering conjecture. "Denne Hændelse," says Oehlenschläger,<sup>9</sup> "tog jeg allegorisk og fortalte, at Hornene vare fundne til Løn for tro Oldforskning, men atter borttagne af Guderne, fordi man ingen Sands havde for deres sande Værd, og kun begabede dem nysgerrigt som andre Kuriositeter. The fortuitous discovery of the horns and the awe-stricken amazement of the finders are very charmingly described in the poem.<sup>10</sup> The two treasures thus unsuspectingly come upon are priceless, because

"Mystisk Helligdom omsvæver  
Deres gamle Tegn og Mærker.  
Guddomsglorien ombæver  
Evighedens Underværker."

But what had been the attitude of later ages toward these sacred relics? In answer Oehlenschläger turns to his contemporaries and concludes the poem with this solemn reproach:

"Men I se kun deres Lue,  
Ikke det ærværdigt Høje!  
Sætte dem som Pragt til Skue  
For et mat nysgierligt Øje."  
"Himlen sortner, Storme brage!  
Visse Time, du er kommen.  
Hvad de gav, de tog tilbage.  
Evig bort svandt Helligdommen."

Thus the whole story of the golden horns becomes a sort of allegory on the theme that the things of the spirit are revealed to the simple-hearted though hidden from the worldly-wise. Oehlenschläger in effect challenges the whole spirit of his age, accusing it roundly of over-sophistication and lack of true reverence; and in connection with *Aladdin* it is interesting to observe that he lays such particular

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. I, p. 188.

<sup>10</sup> See for a full discussion of the questions connected with the poem, V. Andersen, *Guldhornene, et Bidrag til den danske Romantiks Historie*.

emphasis on the fact that the divine gift comes unsolicited to the "poor in spirit." This exaltation of the naïve and the childlike is in itself sufficiently romantic and manifestly touches closely upon the Christian doctrine of grace. *Guldhornene* is in truth a spiritual poem, whose lofty, at times almost mystical tone is reënforced by a strange and startling verse-form. The short-lined, lilting, yet withal dignified measure was a new note in Danish poetry. "Ej, min Bedste," said Steffens, when Oehlenschläger had read him the poem, "De er jo virkelig en Digter." And Oehlenschläger's frank answer was: "Jeg er fast selv af den Formodning."

A volume of Oehlenschläger's verse, bearing the simple title *Digte*, appeared in December 1802. This volume contains among many poems of romantic coloring the important lyrical drama, *Sancthansaftens Spil*. Oehlenschläger owed the conception of this little play to Goethe's *Jahrmarkts-Fest zu Plundersweilern*, and he chose as his motto the well-known lines of Goethe:

"Was ich irrte, was ich strebte,  
Was ich litt und was ich lebte,  
Hier sind Blumen nur im Strauß."

But Oehlenschläger's play far surpasses its model in fullness of picturesque life and in felicity of phrasing. Its significance as a romantic document is twofold. On the positive side, it contains many passages of romantic lyricism, such as the song of the merry-makers on their drive to the woods; or the song of the man by the spring, with its very probable reminiscences of Novalis' song of the miner in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*; or again the song of Maria with its eerie suggestions; or finally the vivid picture of Saxo Grammaticus, suggested doubtless by the opening scene of *Faust*. An oak, a glowworm, the genius of love, and death itself all take part in the dialogue,—such is Oehlenschläger's irrepressibly bubbling romantic enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the chief importance of *Sancthansaftens Spil* is on the negative side as a satire upon certain anti-romantic tendencies in life and letters. The influence of Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater* and *Prinz Zerbino* is indubitable here. As in the former, we have a play within a play, with ironical references passing from the one to the other and even leaping over the footlights to the audience. Oehlenschläger's satire is directed against the rationalistic, utilitarian philosophy of life and its expression in letters. Following the example of Tieck, his favorite method is to allow such characters as he will satirize to reveal

themselves naïvely. The literary satire of the play is especially telling. Harlekin, who follows Prologus in opening the play, says of Shakespeare:

"For Guds Skyld, lad eder ikke smitte  
Af denne uvidende, excentriske Britte,  
Som gjør Theseus til Hertug i Grækenland,  
Og troer, at Bøhmen er omflydt af Vand."

And presently Harlekin introduces Poppe

"en dannet Digter  
Som singer kun om Fornuft og Pligter."

Poppe sings the praises of Middelmaadighed:

"I ret fornuftig Poesie  
Bør aldrig spores Phantasie.  
Hvad Djæveln rager Phantasien  
Den mindste Smule Poesien?"

Some of the satire takes a more personal turn, as where the Marionetspiller announces:

"Accurat som det i Livet gaaer,  
Til eders Fryd I skue faaer.

Her seer I nu en borgerlig Stue;  
Vi efterligne Iffland og Kotzebue."

This reference to the two Berlin playwrights, those butts of the German romanticists' satire, savors almost of plagiarism from Tieck; but it should be remembered that the two dramatists had nearly as firm a hold in Denmark as in Germany.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the same general situation confronted Oehlenschläger in Copenhagen as confronted Tieck in Berlin.

In similar vein the Suitor remarks in praise of the silent emotions:

"Shakespeare naar han er begeistret, taler,  
Og Goethe; men det duer ei for en Daler."

But these examples by no means exhaust the romantic jibes of this sprightly little comedy. There is a hit at the unities, another at the plays of Destouches, a parody on domestic idylls like Voss' *Luise*, and numerous oblique allusions to contemporaries like

<sup>11</sup> Kotzebue's plays were for years performed oftener in Copenhagen than those of any other foreign dramatist except Scribe. Iffland was also a great favorite. See *Overskous Haandbog*, Collins Udgave, 1879.



Wessel and Baggesen. In fact there is hardly a manifestation of the rationalism or pseudo-classicism current at the time which does not receive its appropriate satire.

We now come in our investigation to *Aladdin, eller den forunderlige Lampe*, the first great fruit of Oehlenschläger's romantic inspiration, written in the winter of 1804-05. The work is a drama only in the most outward sense of the word; that is to say, it is cast in dialogue form and divided into acts and scenes. But the interest is epic with lyric touches and only rarely and, as it were, fortuitously dramatic. It was as little intended for the stage as were the so-called "plays" of Tieck. That it has under exceptional circumstances been produced with success in Copenhagen is only another proof of its hold upon the affections of the Danish people. The work is justly regarded in Denmark as one of Oehlenschläger's masterpieces. The story is told with plenty of verve, with a youthful freshness and enthusiasm, a play of fancy and a glow of humor, which captivate the reader at once. It is doubtful if Oehlenschläger in his subsequent works ever equalled the limpid, melodious style of this early drama. If *Aladdin* has failed to impress greatly the extra-Scandinavian world, the reasons must be sought elsewhere than in the manner of its composition.

The model was avowedly Tieck's *Kaiser Oktavian*, which had appeared one year earlier. But the resemblance is more one of tone and intention than of execution. After the first edition Oehlenschläger called his play a "dramatisk Eventyr." "Eventyr" is, of course, equivalent to "Märchen." We are accordingly to be transported to the "wundervolle Märchenwelt" which Tieck has glorified in the oft-quoted stanza in the prologue of *Oktavian*. It is significant that just as Tieck introduces the personified Romanze into his prologue, so Oehlenschläger has the prologue of his play spoken by Sanguinitas and the epilogue by Phantasia. Sanguinitas, "den aeldre, muntre, morgenländske Datter" is to pay a visit to her northern sister Melancholia.

"Thi Nordens Kraft er uden Östens Ild  
Det samme, som et tungt og hærdet Sværd,  
Der mangles en varmblodig Muskelarm,  
For stærkt at svinges."

The play then is to reproduce the clear air and warm sunshine of the east,—as far indeed as northern fogs permit. There is also a

certain resemblance to *Oktavian* in the grouping of the characters, and there are several verbal similarities which can hardly be coincidences. The most striking of these may be seen in the speech which Tieck with romantic irony puts into the mouth of Susanna, when she and her husband try to persuade their son Florens from going off to fight the Turks:

"Ach, lieber Sohn, an deinen Hirngespinsten  
Kommst du nun um, das ist die Frucht vom Lesen,  
Von all den Ritterbüchern und Gedichten."

Oehlenschläger in his abbreviated translation, which appeared 1839, rendered these lines:

"Ak, kære Søn, nu mister du dit Liv.  
Det er en Frugt af dette Læseri,  
Af disse Ridderbøger, disse Digte."

Similarly he makes Morgiane say to Aladdin:

"Min Søn! Jeg tror du er ej rigtig klog  
Fra den Tid, du fik Fat paa disse Bøger."

But though the impulse to write *Aladdin* came from Tieck's drama, Oehlenschläger's work is essentially original. His source is the *Thousand and One Nights*, the Danish version of which, following the lines of the somewhat Frenchified translation<sup>12</sup> current in Western Europe, dates from the year 1745. The relation of the drama to its source, as well as certain other general questions, have already been investigated by several writers,<sup>13</sup>—but the salient facts deserve to be set in a somewhat new light for the purposes of our inquiry.

The outstanding fact is the extreme fidelity with which the original has been followed. There are the same events, narrated in the same order, with essentially the same characters. Oehlenschläger's method was evidently to follow his source sentence by sentence and to diverge only when dramatic or some other artistic exigency demanded it. There are even a few unmistakable verbal reminiscences, as Brandes has pointed out.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless the essential originality of Oehlenschläger's drama is not impaired at

<sup>12</sup> Antoine Galland, *Mille et une nuits*, 1704-08.

<sup>13</sup> See especially:

F. Baldensperger, *Quae in Oehlenschlägerii carmine Aladdin inscripto e Germanicis litteris pendeant*. G. Brandes, *Samlede Skrifter* I, 215 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Samlede Værker, Folkeudgave*, I, p. 216.

this point either. The situation is analogous to that of Shakespeare's *King John* and its source, *The Troublesome Reigne*. There is the same almost servile following in externals combined with complete originality of content. This being the case, the few points of divergence gain added significance. They may be summarized and classified as follows:-

(1) Oehlenschläger has introduced a whole array of nymphs and spirits. Even personifications like Strength and Beauty take part in the action or the dialogue, on the whole, with pleasing effect. The most striking of these romantic touches is the appearance of Nureddin's ghost in scarlet robes. Oehlenschläger has mentioned<sup>15</sup> his indebtedness to Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* for this spiritistic by-play, his immediate obligation being of course to the Schlegel-Tieck translation.

(2) Oehlenschläger has developed, in accordance with general romantic tendencies, the popular element, and more especially has added many comical touches. Thus the character of the hero's mother Morgiane becomes in Oehlenschläger's hands a masterpiece of realistic, humorous delineation. The fun is never boisterous, though it possesses, according to competent judges, the true Copenhagen tang. In one passage, which seems to have escaped the attention of the critics, it becomes veritable romantic Ironie in its disregard of the bounds of time and place. When Hinbad, disguised as Fatima, has preached his sermon, one of the hearers remarks:

"Hun præked ypperligt. O, hvilken Lykke,  
I Fald hun vilde læ den Præken trykke!"

To which another listener replies:

"Hvad er det for forvildet Phantasie?  
Har man i Asien Bogtrykkeri?"

The comment of the pickpocket on the same sermon reminds one of the speeches of Tieck's Berlin Spiessbürger in *Der gestiefelte Kater*.

"Den hele Præken var kun sund Moral.  
Den sidste Reise har saa vidt det drevet,  
At endelig hun nu er oplyst blevet."

"Oplyst" is simply "aufgeklärt," with the satirical connotation which the word acquired in the romantic period. In Oehlen-

<sup>15</sup> See Preface to the German version of *Aladdin*.

schläger's later German version of *Aladdin* this irony is carried to the extent of self-parody, as when Nureddin says:

"Zum Teufel, Herr,  
Was hat Moral und Sittlichkeit in der  
Naturphilosophie zu tun?"

(3) The character of the hero has undergone a change; and here we come to what was for the author the central point of the whole play. In the *Thousand and One Nights* Aladdin is represented at the outset as dissolute and even vicious. The moral which Scheherezade draws at the conclusion of the tale is therefore thoroughly incongruous. Aladdin, as Oehlenschläger represents him at the opening of the play, is a wholly different sort of person. He is an amiable idler, a beloved vagabond. The only disturbing element in his character is his lack of affection for Mustapha, and this is later explained by the fact that the latter is not his true father but that Aladdin is a child of love. This is a minor change, which Oehlenschläger with romantic fondness for natural children has introduced into the story. It is impossible when reading the play not to think of such a character as the Taugenichts in Eichen-dorff's well-known *Novelle*, which was not to appear until twenty-one years later. The fact is, the cult of idleness was in the air and was a very persistent note in German romanticism. The idler is the man of fancy and of sensibilities. It is he and not the work-a-day Philistine who is destined to become the chosen vessel of inspiration. Friedrich Schlegel had summarized this conception in *Lucinde* (1799) in the chapter entitled "Idylle über den Müssiggang," of which these words are the essence: "In der Tat, man sollte das Studium des Müssiggangs nicht so sträflich vernachlässigen, sondern es zur Kunst und Wissenschaft, ja zur Religion bilden! Um alles in eins zu fassen: je göttlicher ein Mensch oder ein Werk des Menschen ist, je ähnlicher werden sie der Pflanze; diese ist unter allen Formen der Natur die sittlichste und die schönste. Und also wäre ja das höchste vollendetste Leben nichts als ein reines Vegetieren." Aladdin is endowed by nature with health, strength, beauty, and winsomeness. He is the favorite of fortune and the darling of the gods. Luck, happiness, and genius are his as an inalienable birthright. Nureddin recognizes him at once by his luck and skill at play. He is prepared to do so, for he realizes that the decision in life's contest goes to the fortunate and not to the plodding. He remarks:

"Og deri Lykken netop jo bestaaer,  
At den umiddelbar, ved skiulte Kræfter,  
Hen til sin elskte Gienstand sikkert naaer;"

and again he says:

"Naturens muntre Søn er Lykken næst,  
Hvorefter Nattens Grubler flittig grunder,  
Naar Solen slukkes i det blege Vest,  
Det finder han med Lethed ved et Under.  
Fast ubegribeligt ham Lykken gaaer  
I Møde, mens han sødt og sorgfrit blunder."

That is, Aladdin is one of those happy natures whom the Lord blesseth in their sleep. Nureddin, on the contrary, is all that Aladdin is not. He is old, ugly, and unlovable, a creature of darkness, whose struggle toward the light is foredoomed to failure. Not all his covetousness, ambition, and painstaking endeavors can avail him anything, for he is not a favorite of heaven, he has not the divine spark of genius. He is born not under a lucky star but under the dog-star, as Nureddin tells Gulnare in the last act. He is a pedant and an envious contemner of the joys of life, of wine, women, and jests;

"men

Hvad denne overgivne Kaadhed angaaer,  
Som ingen anden Hensigt har end Kaadhed,  
Saa væmmes jeg derved."

In a word, Nureddin is the embodiment of rationalistic philistinism such as the romantics conceived the antithesis of genius to be. Brandes has observed that he is a sort of debased Faust; he might with equal correctness be called a Wagner, such as that "trockene Schleicher" is represented in the early scenes of Goethe's masterpiece. Here, therefore, are the broad contrasts: on the one hand, Aladdin, the naïve genius, superabundantly gifted by nature and destined to be crowned with success (and it is impossible not to believe that the youthful Oehlenschläger was thinking of himself), and, on the other hand, Nureddin, the restless brooder, industrious, ambitious, and introspective, but at the same time uninspired and impotent.

What, then, does the magic-working Lamp signify? Manifestly it must be the divine gift of poetry, which only the naïve genius receives and which like the kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation. But like the "blaue Blume" in Novalis' *Heinrich*

*von Ofterdingen*, which evidently influenced Oehlenschläger considerably in the composition of this work, the Lamp is one of those iridescent romantic symbols, which can take on many colors. In the epilogue Phantasia says that the Lamp is

"Den hemmelige Urkraft: Lyset selv,  
Som virker Alt, hvad der er Liv og Lykke."

This stanza agrees with what the Lamp itself had proclaimed when Aladdin descended into the underground garden in quest of it:

"Nu Skiebnen har en Lykkelig forundet  
At trænge dybt udi Naturen ind."

The Lamp, therefore, stands for the very innermost core of nature, and the possession of it implies a mystic insight into nature. It is evident that we are here in touch with the Naturphilosophie of Schelling and the magic idealism of Novalis, as they had been interpreted by Steffens,—aspects of that romantic pantheism which defies exact analysis. It is an artistic triumph that this symbolism is not felt as a disturbing element but is kept unobtrusive and exists, as it were, only by implication. Oehlenschläger's attempt to read an ethical lesson into the latter part of the play is considerably less successful and only results in confusion. Hinbad, the brother of Nureddin, who has taken upon himself the task of avenging the latter's death and of securing the Lamp, observes:

"Thi ved min Kunst har jeg alt grundet ud,  
At den, som fræk misbruger Lampens Magt,  
Maa miste den med Livet."

And Aladdin in the final duel scene with Hinbad proclaims the issue:

"Sandhed mod Løgn, det Gode mod det Onde."

And thus the two combatants fight until the wicked Hinbad falls. All this obscures the real romantic symbolism of the play and has thrown many readers and even critics off the track. The truth is that Oehlenschläger for all his glorification of poetic genius never wholly shed his philistinism.

In 1807 Oehlenschläger wrote his own German version of *Aladdin*. The very considerable differences between this and the Danish version give rise to an entirely new set of problems, into which it is impossible to enter fully here.<sup>16</sup> In brief, it may be said

<sup>16</sup> See especially Brandes, *Samlede Skrifter*, I, 245 ff.

that Oehlenschläger tried to produce in this German adaptation a German romantic play. The divergences are accordingly very interesting since they not only indicate the extent of the German influence upon him at the time of writing but also give the measure of the difference between Danish and German romanticism. They may be resumed under four heads.

(1) The German version is much more diffuse. Speeches are elaborated, discussions prolonged, and even new scenes added. The paraphernalia of spirits, spooks, personifications, etc., are greatly increased. The result is to make the adaptation much more formless than the original.

(2) Certain tendencies peculiar to German romanticism are followed. Irony, which destroys the illusion by its willful disregard of time, place, or congruity is freely indulged in. The following passage furnishes a glaring example."

"Ein Bild von gutem, edlem Ton  
Muss eine gewisse Moderation,  
Muss eine gewisse Steifheit zeigen,  
Muss ahnungsvoll in sich selber schweigen,  
Muss gleichsam so ein Schmachten beachten,  
Ein anderweltliches, göttliches Trachten;  
Die Farben müssen wie Töne klingen,  
Die Züge müssen wie Taten springen,  
Muss werden nach Regel und mit Geschick  
Gleichsam eine poetische Farbenmusik."

Obviously we have here satiric references, first to the Kunstfrömmigkeit which had been brought into vogue by Wackenroder and Tieck and which was later to be developed by the Nazarene school of painters, and secondly to the doctrine of the mingling of the arts, which all the romantics from Friedrich Schlegel down had preached and practiced. There are no parallels in the Danish version to this and to other similar passages.

(3) Oehlenschläger has attempted to read deeper meanings into the play. The result is that the symbolism, which sits so lightly on the Danish verses, becomes a confused and irritatingly disturbing element. Aladdin's ring acquires a deep significance, so also does the cave where the Lamp was first discovered and where the German play ends amid a romantic twilight.

(4) The tone of the German version becomes almost Christian. Aladdin in prison sings, "Gott hat mir Unsterblichkeit gegeben," and he adjures the dying Nureddin:

"O betet  
Zu Gott, dass er im letzten Augenblick  
Euch eure Sünde noch vergeb!"

And the murder of Nureddin, which is treated as a matter of course in the Danish play, is here defended with too evident anxiety. Similarly the morality, of which there is more than enough in the Danish form, is multiplied tenfold in the German.

"Das Leben kommt, das Leben fliegt,  
Nur Tugend bleibt und Tugend siegt."

When to all this formlessness, obscurity, and incongruous pietism there is added a strained and at times unidiomatic German, one can readily understand why this play has failed to impress the German public and has indeed seriously damaged Oehlenschläger's reputation in that nation.

An interesting passage at arms occurred between Baggesen and Oehlenschläger as a result of *Aladdin*. Baggesen wrote a rhymed letter, *Nureddin til Aladdin*, which bears the date of November 14, 1806, Oehlenschläger's birthday. It was published in December of the same year and sent to Oehlenschläger, who was then in Paris. Oehlenschläger replied in kind in January 1807. An examination of the two poems yields several references to German romanticism. Baggesen, in his usual airy manner, represents himself as Nureddin, who has sought with much brooding effort for the magic lamp of poetry, while Oehlenschläger is the lucky Aladdin, who has come upon it without taking thought.

"Vel har jeg trællet, medens han har sovet."

Yet he does not begrudge his rival the prize of genius, he is only in doubt about the course the latter has taken toward the coveted goal.

"Forlad, min Adam! at et Öieblik  
Jeg tvivled om din Seier, trods den Styrke,  
Du, frem for tusind andre fik,  
Til Aandernes Natur i Shakespear's Spor at dyrke;  
Fordi jeg længe fandt dig ei  
Paa den af Grækenland og Evigheden  
Erkiendte Kunstens rette Vei!"

In particular Baggesen acknowledges that he has had many misgivings about the motley romanticism of Germany.



"Skjøndt du er end det Brogede for huld;  
 Skjøndt du har fyldet alle dine Lommer  
 Med Schlegelpærer og med Tieckske Blommer,  
 Og propper Buxefikken alt for fuld  
 Af Goethes underjordiske Granater,  
 Imens din skønne runde Hattepuld  
 Fiirkantes af et Calderonsk Theater."

In another place he adjures him roundly,

"Kast bort de tyske Snurrepiberier!"

(which is almost like an echo from Ewald's *Harlequin Patriot*, "Tysk er en Gift for Landet"), and in a later passage are the words:

"da jeg . . . . .  
 Din dybe Gang, med tyske Rangler paa,  
 I Morgenlands Vidunder-Huuler saae."

It is evident that such a letter with its skillful mingling of direct praise and implied censure must have put the recipient in a delicate position. Oehlenschläger extricated himself from the difficulty with much judgment and good grace. His reply strikes a more serious note. While deprecating mildly the ascription to himself of the qualities of Aladdin, he feels impelled to protest spiritedly against the notion that Baggesen is in any sense Nureddin. He also takes issue vigorously with his fellow-poet for the latter's aspersions upon German literature, and he singles out for special reprobation Baggesen's words "broged," "Snurrepiberier," and "Rangler."

"Hvad har du mod det Brogede?

. . . . .  
 Er dette Land,  
 Det skønne vidtubredte, kun en sandig Ork,  
 Som intet meer Beundrings—, Hyldingsværdigt har?  
 Dets Kunst et Pest for Landet? Snurrepiberi  
 Og Ranglemand Thuiskons Barder, naar vi høit  
 Undtage hvo med Bifald ranglet har for dig?  
 Ha, Dannerdigter! Kalder Sligt du Billighed?"

And a few lines later he asks again:

"Klang aldrig giennem Ewald, Klopstock, Ossian?  
 Ei Wessel, Voss og Wieland, Ven! igiennem dig?"

If even a spark of the divine fire has been vouchsafed to him, it is his duty to nourish it. The incident leaves one with the feeling

that not only did Oehlenschläger acquit himself well, but also that his attitude toward German literature was one of free admiration and not at all of subserviency.

Steffens has himself stated<sup>17</sup> that he was the first professional scientist to become a disciple of Schelling's philosophy. With his enthusiastic temperament, his vivid perception of things, and his first-hand knowledge of the facts of science, he went beyond his master in many respects. "Ich verdanke Schelling viel, ja alles," he remarks,<sup>18</sup> "aber dennoch ist es mir klar, dass durch meine Beiträge ein neues Element in die Naturphilosophie hineinkam." Philosophy needs to be quickened by poetry: "Gewiss ist es, dass keine Philosophie ohne Poesie eine reichere Form erhalten kann."<sup>19</sup> Steffens was thus peculiarly fitted to be a transmitter of the nature-philosophy to a poet who could interpret it in terms of art. Oehlenschläger possessed the responsive imagination which could seize upon the idea. He was not a mystic in the primary sense that he communed with divinity in his own heart; such mysticism as he possessed was rather derivative and secondary, and consisted in the apprehension of a supersensual significance in the things of external nature. He applied himself at once to the working out of these ideas in literary form, and in 1804 wrote the novelette in prose, *Vaulundurs Saga*. This is the well-known story of Wayland the Smith, the source of which Oehlenschläger found in the rather meagre and fragmentary *Völundarkviða* of the Older Edda. His handling of his material is admirable. The style is slightly archaic and is purposely bald and subdued, as befits the stern theme and the bleak northern setting, yet it is not incompatible with a certain glow of poetic fancy. Interwoven through the slender story are many motives from nature-philosophy, of which there is of course not a trace in the Eddic poem. Oehlenschläger has supplied what is in reality almost a superfluous key to the interpretation of the saga. One of the characters in the story says: "Der er et høist forunderligt Frændskab mellem al Ting i Naturen, og hvorfor skulde Menneskens Hu, Sindelag og Skæbne være undtaget derfra?" It is in the spirit of this remark that the entire saga should be read and understood. Finmark, the scene of the story, is a cold, dark land of barren rocks and scrubby vegeta-

<sup>17</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 104.

<sup>18</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 1766.

<sup>19</sup> *Lebenserinnerungen*, p. 75.

tion. The human breed there is correspondingly stunted. But just as the bare hills cover an amazing mass of mineral wealth, so too the men there conceal under their insignificant exterior a sharpness of understanding far beyond the ordinary; and because of their familiarity with the hidden depths of nature they possess also occult powers of divination. There is nowhere a clearer statement of that mystic correspondence between inner and outward things, which is the pith of the Naturphilosophie, than in the opening paragraph of *Vaulundurs Saga*. Neither is there a more convincing demonstration of the dangers which beset the *a priori* reasoning of this philosophy and its contempt for patient induction. The Finns of real life are precisely *not* what Oehlenschläger describes them as being. He had neither been in Finland nor had taken the description of its inhabitants from travellers. Instead he deliberately constructed his picture in accordance with the doctrines of Schelling and Steffens. The result is a diverting story but a falsification of the truth. The narrative runs thus: Three brothers, Slogfidur, Eigil and Vaulundur find gold-nuggets with precious stones of different colors, red, green, and blue. Vaulundur, the hero of the saga, chooses the red. Their mother prophecies to them:

"Grøn siger: Græs,  
Blaa: klar Himmel,  
Rødsten: Roser,  
Guld: væn Mø."

In Sweden the brothers meet three maidens clad severally in these colors, and each chooses her for his wife who has his corresponding color. For nine years they live happily and then the wives depart to be valkyries for another term of nine years, enjoining on their husbands' patience and giving them keys to unlock the mineral treasures of the mountains. Vaulundur alone proved faithful. Eigil, whose color was blue, had an unstable disposition, "bestandig Bevægelse og Forandring underkastet, ret som Vandet, og uden Ende eller Maal, som det vide Himmelrum." He met his death in the blue waters of a river. Slogfidur, of the green color, was beguiled constantly by deceptive hopes and came to destruction through a fall upon a green plain. Vaulundur, now in possession of all three keys, explores the caves of the mountains, and there is much more fantastic manipulation of the three colors. At last he becomes thrall to King Nidudr: "større Niding, end han, findes

der ikke paa den hele Jord, hvortil ogsaa Naturen har tegnet ham, da den gav ham det grumme og skiændige Aasyn." Vaulundur suffers outrageous things, but finally wreaks vengeance on Nidudr and his entire house. Consistent with his character he has chosen the color of vitality and constancy, and he achieves his reward.

"Hvad aldrig bortdøde,  
Hvad aldrig forgaaer,  
Er Luen hin røde,  
I sig den bestaaer.  
I Alt den sig mænger,  
Fra Solen nedkaldt;  
Til Intet den trænger,  
Nødvendig for Alt."

There is thus, running through Oehlenschläger's version of the saga, a strong ethical motive, which redeems it from much incidental triviality. Character is fate. Horn in his *History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North* speaks of the Saga as deeply significant. The profundity which one attributes to it will depend largely on one's estimate of nature-philosophy in general, whether as real insight or as play of fancy. In any case the Saga remains the most notable attempt outside German literature to give artistic expression to the ideas of Schelling, and within German literature itself it is only surpassed by a few of the poems of Novalis and by portions of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.

A second and less successful attempt to interpret German Naturphilosophie was made by Oehlenschläger in his cycle of poems, *Jesu Christi gientagne Liv i den aarlige Natur*, written in the summer of 1804. The author's point of view is clearly set forth in the preface. He does not wish, he says, to reduce the Gospel story to a nature-myth, but conversely to show that nature in her processes reproduces, in more or less dim adumbration, the historical facts of the life of Christ. Thus, the spring symbolizes the birth of Jesus; nature nourishing a tender plant is the virgin mother; a tree trunk, in whose shelter the plant grows, is Joseph,

"Gammel, trofast, blid og rund,  
Men en Pleiefader kun."

Further we learn that the refreshing, cleansing summer-showers typify John the Baptist, while the merciless, garish midsummer-sun is the sect of the Pharisees, etc., etc. The comparisons range

from the obvious to the far-fetched. The substance, it must be admitted, is generally thin and the style itself somewhat watery. Oehlenschläger has been influenced in his rhyme-technique by the virtuosity of Tieck in at least one of the poems, *Simon Feder*, where the scheme of two echo-rhymes is carried through fifteen stanzas, of which the first will suffice as an example:-

“Milde Morgenvinde, linde,  
Køle heden Sommerluft,  
Kruse Havets Vande, blande  
Sigmed Lundens Blomsterduft.”

It is well known that Novalis frequently meditated the plan of treating the salient doctrines of Christianity, if not the actual events of Christ's life, in symbolic poems. The famous Hymne on the Eucharist, beginning with the words,

“Wenige wissen  
Das Geheimniß der Liebe,”

far surpasses in sincerity and passion Oehlenschläger's *Den hellige Nadver* where the sacrament is symbolized in phenomena of nature. Nevertheless Oehlenschläger's whole cycle bears the imprint of Novalis, and it is wholly appropriate, therefore, that when its author read a portion of it aloud to Tieck in Dresden in 1806, the latter lamented the fact that Novalis was not alive to hear it also.<sup>20</sup> How readily Oehlenschläger's mind reverted to Novalis is further shown by a reference in the poem *Langelands Reise*, where the sight of a half-finished feudal castle erected by a Hardenberg suggests to the writer the uncompleted *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* of the modern Hardenberg-Novalis:-

“Farvel! Jeg bort mig vender  
Fra denne Bygning kjær.  
En Hardenberg jeg kiender,  
Som ligned denne her;  
Et Omrids ud blev kastet,  
En Indgang Borgen fandt;  
Men grusom Døden hastet—  
Og Novalis forsvandt.”

In the section of the same poem entitled *Faareveile Skov* there is a notable tribute to Lessing. Oehlenschläger was unable to share in the romantic disparagement of the author of *Nathan der*

<sup>20</sup> *Selbstbiographie* II, Chap. 4.

*Weise*, a drama which he esteemed highly for its union of poetic feeling with philosophic depth. Another literary reference in *Langlands-Reise* should not be omitted. The poet sees in his room a bust which he is told is Voltaire's—"den frosne Spottefuge, Voltaire." These vehement lines follow:<sup>21</sup>

"Han skal ei møde mer mit Blik.  
Den tomme Siæl, han skal herved,  
Som vilde Kunst og Fromhed døde,  
Og troede fræk, paa Alt at bøde  
Med usle Stumper Vittighed."

Steffens was also a thorough-going hater of Voltaire, and there is not doubt that the lines only reflect the sentiment of the whole romantic circle in Germany. The bust, however, turns out to be that of Johannes Ewald,—and all's well that ends well!

We now come in our inquiry to Oehlenschläger's so-called break with the German romanticists, in regard to which a good deal of misunderstanding has arisen. The phrase "Brud med Romantikerne," used by Ludwig Schröder, is in itself misleading, implying as it does an essential change in Oehlenschläger's æsthetic or intellectual point of view. A group of writers making any pretense to originality must speedily show divergencies of view, and this is above all true of romantics with their naturally centrifugal tendencies. That Oehlenschläger became in some respects estranged from his former comrades is an undoubted fact, which may be gleaned particularly from his letters, though it also finds occasional expression in his public writings. But it will be found upon examination that the causes of the estrangement were almost wholly personal and were merely intensified by certain differences in points of view, which had indeed existed from the very outset. The beginning of the trouble seems to have come in the autumn of 1805, when Oehlenschläger was the guest of Steffens at Halle. The town proved dull in the long run and the companionship of Steffens disappointing. Oehlenschläger's mood is revealed in his poem *Hjemve*. The old difference of opinion about Lessing reappeared and an actual quarrel occurred on the subject of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, which Steffens affected to despise and which Oehlenschläger loyally defended. There is nothing new here in Oehlenschläger's point of view; he had been from the beginning an avowed admirer

<sup>21</sup> A later version modifies the expression somewhat without altering the essential standpoint.

of Schiller. One is in fact compelled to seek a purely personal motive in the quarrel. There is abundant testimony to the fact that Oehlenschläger had an inordinate amount of personal vanity, which was no doubt ruffled by Steffens' constant assumption of a magisterial air. The quarrel, if such it may be called, was soon made up, but the old relations of master and pupil were not re-established. Oehlenschläger in his letter to his betrothed, Christiane Heger, October 2, 1806, speaks of Steffens' "Hidsighed Forfængelighed og Spektakel" and in the following year we find him in a letter to Hans Christian Ørsted praising Rahbek as a more trustworthy authority on æsthetics than Steffens. In a similar way Oehlenschläger was unfortunate in his personal relations with the Schlegels, whom he met in 1807, Friedrich at Paris and August Wilhelm at Coppet. The former seems to have patronized and the latter to have ignored him.<sup>22</sup> Over against these personal estrangements must be set his newly contracted friendship with Fichte and Schleiermacher (the latter of whom especially exerted no small influence upon him), and his unremitting admiration for Tieck. This last friendship stood the shock of personal contact and of certain differences of opinion, because the men met as equals and accorded each other ungrudging appreciation;—again a proof that Oehlenschläger in such matters was swayed by his emotions and not by his judgment. In one of his letters<sup>23</sup> he praises Tieck's emancipation from the "papistiske Narrestreger, hvormed hans Tilhængere smykke sig," though in the same letter he deprecates Tieck's excessive fondness for the middle ages and his prejudice against all the tendencies of his own times. The good relations between the two men remained untroubled until Tieck wrote some rather disparaging criticisms of *Correggio* to which Oehlenschläger felt impelled to reply with considerable asperity.<sup>24</sup> Oehlenschläger's attitude toward the mediævalism of the Romantic School is expressed in his German poem, *Der irrende Ritter* of which a shortened Danish version appeared somewhat later. A romantic youth rides into the woods and comes at sunset to an old

<sup>22</sup> *Selbstbiographie* II, Chapters VIII and X. Oehlenschläger wrote on the brothers the doggerel lines:

"August Wilhelm sagt: 'Mein Bruder und ich,'  
'Ich und mein Bruder,' sagt Friederich."

<sup>23</sup> To Christiane Heger, October 2, 1806.

<sup>24</sup> *Selbstbiographie*, II, Chap. 14.

feudal castle towering on a cliff. But a night spent in the gloomy halls of this robbers' nest is enough to cure him of his infatuation, and at daybreak he is glad to turn his back on the ruins. This sounds like a renunciation, yet we know that Oehlenschläger had never been either Catholic or mediævalist. He had at most paid only passing tribute to these two tendencies of German romanticism. At any rate, the true touchstone in this whole matter is his attitude throughout his later works, and it will abundantly appear that in the plays, poems and sagas from *Hakon Jarl* on, he is still romantic at heart, purged, it is true, of some of his earlier idiosyncrasies and with a steadier, maturer outlook on life, yet withal a romanticist. A fuller discussion of these points must be reserved for a subsequent article.

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## SOME PHASES OF IBSEN'S SYMBOLISM

As a poetic and dramatic device symbolism plays a most important part in Henrik Ibsen's dramas. A leaning towards the mystical and a predilection for the expression of emotions in poetical figures mark the tone of many of even his most realistic dramas. Something of the aroma of Romanticism which was so strong in his early works always remained even when his efforts became exclusively devoted to the problems of modern life. In fact, many of the conceptions and methods of Romanticism still lingered with the realist Ibsen long after he had actually abandoned the ideals of the Romantic movement. He seems to have cherished many Romantic ideals as too valuable a means of poetic expression to dispense entirely with them. With the true spirit of a poet he sought to clothe his ideas in the form of suggestive pictures which, borrowed from the outward world of form and color, serve as counterparts to the inner world of thought and feeling. Just as the sculptor or painter fashions the image and the lines which represent an inner spiritual conception, so the poet Ibsen molded his poetic thought into symbolic images to represent the spirit of the inner concept. So much of a Romanticist he always was that he never lost sight of the poetic value and theatrical effect which symbolism lends to the situation involved. A glamour of poetry is thus shed about the figures of the personae dramatis even when the author is working out the solution of his play with almost mathematical precision. That Ibsen never was an "out and out" realist is in no wise better proved than by this tendency to resort to symbolism whenever some suggestive thought or incident stimulated his imagination. The outward form of this symbolism must in some way correspond to the inner or spiritual concept. It is, therefore, of great value to know, if possible, where the poet found the symbolic form or whether such a form was solely an imaginative product on his part.

Many of Ibsen's symbols can be traced back to Norwegian folk-lore which served as the sources of his very early Romantic works. Some folk legend or episode, which in his early works was incorporated into the theme of his play, received later an ulterior and spiritual significance that served to accentuate some great principle or phase of life. Folk-lore was thus often translated into symbols

of spiritual import. In his earlier social dramas we find very little that can be termed real symbolism, but towards the end of his life he seems to resort more and more to this device, rendering the interpretation of his works more difficult but at the same time lending a charm of mysticism and poetic fancy to his creation. Brand (1866) and Peer Gynt (1867) are filled with symbols and symbolic pictures. As the poet first turns his attention to the social-realistic drama, symbolism disappears temporarily until the old charm of mystic devices, so dear to the heart of the Romantics, again asserts its sway and we are once more confronted with the weird and fantastic pictures of the symbol, especially in *Fruen fra Havet* (1888), in *Hedda Gabler* (1890), in *Bygmester Solness* (1892), in *Lille Eyolf* (1894), and most of all in his last work *Naar Vi Døde Vaagner* (1899), in which the aged poet seems to view through the dark mists the forms which he previously set before us in the clear light of day. Like the great German poet, Goethe,<sup>1</sup> so Ibsen in his old age seemed to revert to the charms of Romanticism, which had formerly held him under their sway, but of which he had for a time almost completely divested himself. Visions seem to crowd in upon his sight and the great questions of duty, responsibility, truth, compromise, etc., begin to take on the indistinct form of images. The "ghosts" of his own life as a poet and reformer walk about with him, as his creative genius begins to wane.

The principal sources of folk-lore from which Ibsen drew many of his symbols are found in Andreas Faye's *Norske Folkesagn* (1833, more especially the second edition of 1844), Asbjørnson and Moe's *Norske Folkeeventyr* (1842, 2nd edition 1852), Asbjørnson's *Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn* (1845, 2nd edition 1848) and M. B. Landstad's *Norske Folkeviser* (1853).<sup>2</sup> The particular phases of symbolism which are to be treated in this article are I, the human sight, its expression and significance as represented by its physical organ, the eye; II, the idea of parental responsibility and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Faust*, zweiter Teil.

<sup>2</sup> Other phases of Ibsen's symbolism have been treated by Professor Dr. Äged Raiz (Jahresbericht des Kaiser Franz Josef-Gymnasiums in Pettau, 1902), *Über das Symbol und die Symbolik in H. Ibsens Dramen*. This treatise is in many respects unsatisfactory. The author seems to be satisfied with a mere statement of the occurrence of symbolic figures without an adequate literary analysis of their relation to the poetic concept involved.

particular application which Ibsen makes of the eye with reference to the child as the offspring of the physical and spiritual relation of the parents; and III, the figure of the troll as representative of the wild and bestial in human nature.

# I.

The conception of an inward and an external vision as representative respectively of the spiritual and physical senses, sometimes in accord but more often at variance with each other, is a favorite theme with Ibsen. Just as the external world can be seen with the physical eye, so the inner world of the spirit may be apprehended by a moral and spiritual sense which sees just as clearly, though in a different way. In his very first work, *Kjæmpehøjen* (1854, *Supplementsbind.*) the poet emphasizes this distinction between the inner and the outer vision, the spiritual and the physical eye. When Roderik describes to Blanka the wild scenery and the valiant viking of the North, he pauses for a moment thinking that Blanka, who has never seen Norway, can in no wise comprehend or appreciate the feeling he has for his native land. Whereupon she replies: "does man need to see and hear everything with his outward senses? Has not the soul also eyes and ears to hear and to see with just as distinctly? With my physical eye I see, to be sure, the rich glow of color which the rose possesses; but the eyes of my soul can in the chalice see a winsome elf with the wings of a summer bird, who roguishly hides back of the red leaves and in sweet melodies whisper of a secret power from heaven which gave the flower its glorious color and perfume."

In the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, V. XII. No. 3, the author of this article has emphasized the probable influence of *Henrik Hertz's Kong René's Datter* (1845) upon the passage quoted above. It seems to me clear from the article mentioned that Ibsen was not only most probably influenced in *Kjæmpehøjen* by Henrik Hertz but that he was in general affected by the grace and beauty of Hertz's productions. Yet there are many other influences which must be taken into account. Fredrik Paasche<sup>3</sup> (p. 55) has pointed out the influence of *Welhaven*, but the conception itself is perhaps common Romantic property which served Ibsen as well as Hertz, Welhaven and other writers of the Romantic

<sup>3</sup> *Smaaskrifter fra det litteraturhistoriske Seminar, 1908. V. Gildet paa Solhaug, Ibsen's Nationalromantiske Digting.*

School with literary material. But the similarity of Hertz's *Kong René's Datter* (which Paasche has omitted) is too striking to omit as simply fortuitous. Ebn Jahia, the physician, in order to perform the cure upon the blind Iolanthe insists that she first be told the truth about her blindness; "we must first open her *inner eye*, ere the *outer* can be opened to the light."

ACT I, 1.

Først maae vi aabne hendes *indre Øie*,  
Førend det *ydre* kan for Lyset aabnes.

Iolanthe herself has long sensed the different objects of the physical world in terms of inner consciousness which for her is the real sight. This sight is the counterpart of the physical vision which she hopes soon to enjoy.

I, 5.

Med Øiet er det sikkert ei, man seer.  
Herinde, nær ved Hjertet, ligger Synet.  
Herinde, hviler, som i glad Erindring,  
En Efterklang af dette Lys, der traf mig,  
Det Lys, jeg haaber nu at gaae imøde.

This same conception appears in Ibsen's next work, *Sankt Hans Natten* (1852. *Efterladte Skrifter*). Here the goblin (Nissen) mixes the sap of a magic herb into the punch bowl of the merry makers on St. John's Eve. This herb has the power of enabling him who partakes of it to see the real essence of things with his *inner vision*. It is the poet's inspiration, for it was brewed from the famous Suttung's mead and was spilled at the portals of Valhalla. He who tastes it sees with poet's vision into the hidden chambers of the soul.

SANKT HANS NATTEN.

I, 10.

Og hvo, som smager dens Saft saa sød,  
Hans Blik for det ydre Skin er borte;  
(Presses the sap of the plant into the bowl)  
De Taager, der har sig for Synet lagt,  
Vil klare i Drømmenes spillende Flammer;  
Han *skuer* med Sandhed *den indre* Magt,  
Der raader i Sjælens forborgne Kammer.  
Men den, som har intet at grunde over,  
Han vandrer i Blinde som ellers og—sover.

But the most significant of all in this respect is Margit's song about the child that was born blind, in *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1856). In

Act III, Sc. 1, Margit, just before giving the poisoned cup to her husband, sings this song about the child born blind, how the mother cast a magic charm over the child's eyes so that it was able to see the mountain and dale, the sea and the coast but finally the charm failed and the child sank back into darkness again, shut out forever from the light of day and the life of summer. To this child she compares herself whose eyes have once been opened to the magic charm of love but who now must sink back again into the darkness of despair, for the light of love has been extinguished.

GILDET PAA SOLHAUG.

III, 1.

Jeg hørte en gang om et *blindfødt barn*;  
 Som voksede op i leg og i glæde;  
 moderen spandt et troldomsgarn,  
 som mægtede lys over øiet at sprede.  
 Og barnet skued med undrende lyst  
 over berg og sø, over dal og kyst.  
 Da svigted de koglende kunster brat,  
 og barnet gik atter i mulm og nat,  
 det var forbi med gammen og lege,  
 af savn og længsel blev kinderne blege;  
 Det sygnede hen og leved alle dage  
 i en evig, en unævnelig klage.  
 Ak, ogsaa *mine sine var blinde*  
 for sommerens liv og for lysets skær—  
 Men nu—! Og saa stænges i buret inde.

Fredrik Paasche (p. 47 f.) points out the probable origin of this conception in Faye's *Norske Folkesagn* (1844), which I believe probably also served as the basis for Ibsen's varied use of the theme in *Kjæmpehøjen* and *Sankt Hans Natten*. In Faye's *Norske Folkesagn* (1844) there is a story called *Gjordemoderen*. This story tells about a woman who learned from the spirit of the underworld the use of a salve which had the property of making things invisible. Faye then relates a similar story which he took from Grimm's treatise, *Über das wesen der Elfen in irischen Elfenmärchen*. "In Scotland the elves once brought a new-born child into their home and afterwards fetched the mother to nurse the babe. One day when she was left alone she was led by curiosity to smear her eyes with a salve, which she had seen the elves apply to her child, but she succeeded in smearing only one eye when the elves returned. With this one eye, however, she was enabled to *see things in their true form*,

a gift which she retained even after she had returned home. One day in a crowd of people, she caught sight of the elf who had stolen her child, although the elf was invisible to others. Straightway she asked him how the child was faring, whereupon in great astonishment he asked her if she could see him. Frightened by the elf's hideous appearance she confessed the truth, whereupon he spat in her eye. From that time on she never could see with that eye again."

It is clear that Ibsen's conception in *Gildet paa Solhaug* most probably goes back to Faye. Paasche points out a similar motif in other Romantic writings, showing the theme to be a favorite conception with the Romanticists. The inner vision is given to the child, who is granted a sight into the mysteries of heaven, in Grimm's *Das Marienkind*. In Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* Puck smears a magic salve over the eyes of the sleepers so that they must love the person who first meets their gaze when they awake; a theme which Ibsen used in *Sankt Hans Natten* where the goblin mixes the sap of the magic herb into the punch bowl, causing *Johannes* and *Anna*, *Julian*, and *Juliane* to fall violently in love with each other.<sup>4</sup> The same theme appears in different forms in Heiberg's *Alferne* which is based upon Tieck's *Die Elfen* (*Phantasi*, 1812), and in Welhaven's *Alfernes Lind* (*Nyere Digte* 1845). The conception, therefore, of a magic salve spread over the child's eye is a general Romantic theme, the direct source of which Ibsen undoubtedly found in Faye and which he used in *Gildet paa Solhaug* as a poetic figure, symbolizing the magic influence of love whose sweet power opens the eye of the soul to charms hitherto unknown.

*Fru Inger til Østraat* was written about the same time (1857) as *Gildet paa Solhaug* and both have many features in common which are based upon Faye. In *Fru Inger*, Act V, Sc. I, *Nils Lykke* exerts a mysterious, irresistible influence over *Eline*. It is his eyes which have allured her into the net of love from which she cannot extract herself. Like the blind falcon (in *Gildet paa Solhaug*,

<sup>4</sup> Even before the Romantic movement the same theme appears in Scandinavian literature in Holberg's *Plutus* (1750). In Aristophanes' comedy, *Plutus*, the god of wealth, has lost his sight but regains it in the temple of Aesculapius. In Holberg's comedy Aesculapius takes Plutus to a holy spring where his eyes are first washed and then smeared with a magic salve. Plutus immediately regains his sight which enables him to see men as they are and thus to discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy.

*the blind child*) Eline too was blind until Nils Lykke released the bond from her eyes and raised her aloft (like the falcon) upon the treetops to view the world. This passage is evidently a reflection of Margit's song about the child born blind.

FRU INGER.

V, 1.

Eline to Nils Lykke.—Du stirred mig ind i øiet.  
Hvad var det for en gaadefuld magt, der daared mig  
og kogled mig ind som i et trolddomsnæt.<sup>5</sup>

Som den (falk) var ogsaa jeg blind for lyset og  
for livet.<sup>6</sup>

To return to the passage above referred to in *Kjæmpehøjen* in which Blanka sees the spirit of nature with the eye of her soul, the poetic thought may very well have had its inception in the general Romantic theme of "the blind child and the magic salve" and in kindred stories, but the aesthetic nature of Blanka's description seems to point to Hertz's *Kong René's Datter* as the determining factor in the development of this conception.

This conception that the eye may have a double vision is nowhere so strongly emphasized as in *Peer Gynt* (1867). In the celebrated scene in the hall of the *Dovregubbe*, where Peer is being tested as his eligibility, and qualifications as a candidate for membership into the troll family the last and decisive change in his metamorphosis is to have his eye slit, in order that he may be gifted with the troll-vision in which all coarse and ugly things are reflected in fair form and attractive appearance. If the eye be diseased or faulty an operation may restore the organ to its normal function.<sup>7</sup> Peer's eye is diseased, according to the troll-view of things, for he still possesses the senses of a human being, therefore, the only remedy is

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Gildet paa Solhaug*, trolddomsgarn to rhyme with *barn*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Gildet paa Solhaug*. Ak, ogsaa mine øjne var blinde for sommerens liv og for lysets skær indtil du løste bindet fra mine øjne og lod mig svinge mig op over løvtoppene.

<sup>7</sup> Thus the king in *Kong René's Datter* fears that the physician Ebn Jahia may resort to such an operation:

ACT I, 1.

Jeg har et Skrift herhjemme, hvor der staaer,  
At Øjets Sygdom ved et dristigt Snit  
Med skarpe Instrumenter stundom læges.  
Det vil du ikke? Vel, min Ebn Jahia?

an operation. The old man assures Peer that hereafter he will see all things in a fair light, begging him to remember that the sight is the source of much of our suffering and pain. The difference between things as they seem and things as they are is the same philosophic concept which Ibsen again emphasizes in "the life-lie" in *Vildanden* (1884).

PEER GYNT.

ACT II.

*Dovregubben.*

(lægger nogle skarpe redskaber paa bordet)

Her ser du glasmestertøjet.

Spjeld skal du få, som den olme studen.

Da vil du skønne, hun er dejlig, bruden,—  
og aldrig vil synet dit kverves som før,  
af trippende purker og bjeldekor.

Tænk efter, hvar megen fortræd og plage  
du kan fri dig for mellem år og dage.

Kom dog ihug, at synet er kilden  
til gårdens argende beske lud.

The eye as "the window of the soul," reflecting the personality or the emotions of the individual, most generally the pangs of conscience, Ibsen repeatedly used as a poetic device. Thus in *Fru Inger* it was *Nils Lykke's* eyes which captivated the innocent Eline. She explains the whole cause of his mysterious influence upon her as the result of the look which came from his eyes.

FRU INGER.

I, 1.

O nej, jeg elsker dig, fordi ethvert av dine øjekast  
er et Kongebud, som byder det. . . .  
medens dine ord og dine øjne nærer mig med livsens  
brød.

V, 1.

Du stirred mig ind i øiet. Hvad var det for en  
gaadefuld magt, der daared mig og kogled mig ind  
som i et troldomsgarn.

But more often the eye reflects the evil conscience within, such as is the case with the ship-builder Aune in *Samsfundets Støtter*. Aune has decided to let the *Indian Girl* put to sea without adequate reparation, which will, of course, result in the loss of human life as well as of the ship. This is a criminal deed to which Aune has been forced



by his imperious master, but that he, nevertheless, felt that his act was wrong is evident from the remark which Krap makes to Consul Bernick concerning Aune's dissimulation. Krap believes that Aune must have confessed to the crime because of "the evil conscience which *shone from his eye*."

#### SAMFUNDETS STØTTER.

##### ACT III.

Fuldmægtig Krap. (Dæmpet) Aha, han var her. Har han tilståt?

Konsul Bernick. Hm . . . ; har De opdaget noget?

Fuldmægtig Krap. Hvad behøves det? Så ikke Konsulen *den onde Samvittighed skulde ud af øjnene på ham*?

Konsul Bernick. Å hvad;—sådan ses ikke. Har De opdaget noget, spørger jeg.

When Halvard, in *Bygmester Solness*, discharges the beguiled Kaja from his service, his wife notices her *treacherous eyes*: *Gud, for nogen lumske øjne hun har*. Fru Solness has always suspected the girl of an illegitimate relation towards her husband.

##### II.

But the eye as the most potent expression of evil conscience is connected very effectively with the child, whose death or suffering is due either to the immorality or the neglect on the part of the parents. Parental responsibility is one very important phase of Ibsen's moral doctrines. Conditions in the past effect the present, so too present conditions must have a bearing upon the future. That Ibsen was strongly impressed with the responsibilities of the human race with reference to the future is evident from the manifold forms in which this theme occurs in his dramas. Life is a continual progress and he who would better the world must have reference to those conditions which necessarily effect the future. In *Samfundet's Støtter* Consul Bernick believes his whole life to be dedicated to his son *Olaf*, who is to take up his father's work after him. All his own actions Consul Bernick thinks may be in part justified on this ground. Under the law of individual liberty which pervades Ibsen's whole doctrine of life, Consul Bernick is at last

constrained to allow Olaf to inherit his life's work, not as an enforced labor but as an expression of his own individual character. This law of transmission from parent to child according to which the world progresses by making way for the individual development of future generations, Ibsen has fittingly termed in *Lille Eyolf* as the law of change (*Omvandlingens Lov*). In *Bygmester Solness* the tragedy consists in the painful aspects of this conflict between the old and the new generation. The hope of the future "which springs eternal in the human breast" is one of the bright spots in Ibsen's philosophy. Thus in his speech at Stockholm (Sept. 24, 1887) he spoke of the power which the present generation possesses to develop and transmit its ideals into the future (*Idealernes For plantningsevne og deres Udviklingsdygtighed*), which corresponds to the *Omvandlingens Lov* in *Lille Eyolf*. On this law alone is based his hypothesis of "The Third Kingdom," and with reference to parental responsibility it is this law upon which the future welfare and development of the child depend.

In *Lille Eyolf* the whole action hinges upon the question of parental responsibility. In *John Gabriel Borkman* both father and mother struggle for the possession of the child who is to restore the good name of Borkman and the reputation of the family. To the son, as in *Samsfundets Støtter*, the father bequeaths his life work; so likewise *Allmers* in *Lille Eyolf*.

#### LILLE EYOLF.

##### ACT I.

Allmers. Eyolf skal ta mit livsværk op. Ifald han så vil. Eller han kan få vælge noget, som er fuldt ud hans eget. Kanske helst *det*— Nå, for alle tilfældes skyld så lar jeg mit ligge. . . . Ja, nu endelig. Nu ser jeg, at det højeste, jeg har at gøre her i verden, det er at være en sand far for Eyolf.

In *Fruen fra Havet* (1888), *Vildanden* (1884), *Gjengangere* (1881) *Et Dukkehjem* (1879), the child suffers on account of the sins or the discordant relations of the parents to each other. Lille Eyolf's crutch and crippled body remind us of the offspring of Peer Gynt's relations to the *Greenclad Woman*, who was "lame in his body" as Peer was "in his mind." The fate of the future lies with the present. This fearful responsibility could not escape the searching

eye and relentless severity of Henrik Ibsen. Not only is the physical child the offspring of its parents but all the mutual relations of the parents, their thoughts, ideals and aspirations are responsible factors in the progress of their lives. Thus a mutual ideal which is attainable only through voluntary and mutual love and mutual coöperation is an offspring of those whose union makes the attainment of that ideal possible. Remove one of the parents and that ideal can never be fostered. Thus marriage is a spiritual as well as a physical union. As early as 1864 in *Kongs-Emnerne*, the conception of man's highest thoughts and ideals receives its most beautiful expression in the symbol of the child, the offspring of the soul, towards whom we owe as great a responsibility as towards the offspring of the flesh. The higher and nobler the ideal the greater the responsibility. Thus the Scald, *Jatgejr*, compares the thoughts of the poet to the child in the mother's womb, which is gradually conceived and given birth. Were he to stifle or slay these beautiful thoughts he would commit spiritual murder. He has the same responsibility towards his own ideal creation, as the mother to her child.

#### KONGS-EMNERNE.

##### IV, 1.

Kong Skule. Sidder du inde med mange *udigtede* kvad, Jatgejr.  
Jatgejr. Nej, men med mange *ufødte*; de *undfanges* et efter et, *får liv* og så *fødes* de.

Kong Skule. Og hvis jeg, som er konge og har magten, hvis jeg lod dig dræbe, vilde så hver en *ufødt* skaldetanke, du bærer på, dø med dig?

Jatgejr. Herre, det er en stor synd at dræbe en fager tanke.

King Skule's whole failure is attributed by Haakon to the fact that Skule is "God's foster-child" on earth. The Royal Thought (*den store Kongstanke*), that thought which makes Haakon the real king, is the offspring of one who in reality possesses the qualifications of a king, who knows no doubt or self-distrust. This thought Skule does not possess, but in its place a vacillating and self-distrusting attitude. Therefore he has not, symbolically speaking, been fostering a "king's child" (*tankebarn*). The real king's child does not belong to him but to Haakon, who alone thinks and acts *den store Kongstanke*. He has, therefore, been fostering Haakon's child under the delusion that it was his own.

## KONGS-EMNERNE.

## ACT IV, 1.

Kong Skule. Jeg er som en ufrugtbar kvinde. Derfor elsker jeg Håkons kongelige tankebarn, elsker det med min sjæls hedeste kærlighed.

So likewise, according to the divine right of kings Haakon is God's child, Skule His foster-child.

## ACT V.

Håkon. Skule Bårdssøn var Gud's stedbarn paa jorden; det var gåden ved ham.

Parents are *mutually* responsible for the welfare of their children, each has a share in the child. The practical, common-sensed *Gina* in *Vildanden* exclaims after the death of *Hedvig*, which was due to her husband's selfish arrogance: *den ene får hjælpe den anden. For nu er vi da halvt om hende, véd jeg. The lack of parental responsibility* towards the child, which results in its death: is a still more heinous crime than to murder the child outright. No higher covenant can be borne by man than the sense of responsibility towards himself and those who stand nearest him.

## HEDDA GABLER.

## ACT III.

Løvborg. Men det at dræbe sit barn,—det er ikke det værste, en far kan gøre imod det.

Hedda. Og hvad er så dette værste?

Løvborg. Sæt nu, Hedda, at en mand,—sådan henad morgenstunden,——efter en forvildet, gennemsviret nat kom hjem til sit barns mor og sa: hør du,—jeg har været der og der. På de og de steder. Og jeg har havt vort barn med mig. På de og de steder. Barnet er kommet væk for mig. Rent væk. Pokker véd, hvad hender det er faldet i. Hvem der har havt sine fingre i det.

Hedda. Ah,——så var da dette her bare en bog—

Løvborg. Teas rene sjæl var i den bog.

In *Naar Vi Døde Vaagner* (1899) exactly the same concept reappears. Professor Rubeck has forfeited the spiritual relationship of husband and wife, in that he failed to recognize in Irene anything more than a means for the attainment of the perfection of his art. In Irene, however, lay the secret of his life's happiness, she alone possessed the key which could unlock the treasures of his soul.

Thus his master piece, "The Day of Resurrection" (*Opstandelsens Dag*), is conceived of as their *child*, the offspring of the union of his soul with hers. Irene's children, offsprings of her flesh, she has slain with her own hand, for her union with Herr von Satow she did not consider as the true conjugal relation. The "Resurrection," however, symbolizes the true spiritual relation of man to wife, the offspring of the soul. If the child be the result of mere sexual passion as in *Lille Eyolf*, neither parent in a spiritual sense possesses the child.

LILLE EYOLF.

ACT III.

Allmers. Hvis det er, som du tænker, så har vi to i grunden aldrig *ejet vort eget barn*.

So Irene feels no responsibility towards those children which she has borne merely by gratifying the sex-instinct in the conventional institution of marriage. But "The Day of Resurrection" is the offspring of the spirit towards which she feels a maternal responsibility, but which in her disappointment she would nevertheless have slain, to avenge the faithlessness of her spiritual consort. Allmers too, in *Lille Eyolf*, feels, as it were, a resurrection (*en opstandelse*) in the new spirit of love towards his wife, which now is based upon a spiritual comradeship.

LILLE EYOLF.

ACT III.

Allmers. Den (kærlighed) er død. Men i det, som jeg nu, i medskyldighed, og bodstrang, føler for dig,—i det skimter jeg ligesom *en opstandelse*—

The symbol of the child's eye, typifying the spirit of the little soul for whose existence the parents are responsible, appears again and again in Ibsen's works. The eyes of the dead often haunt the murderer. Selfishness, jealousy, lack of the sense of responsibility and consequent neglect of the child may often make the parents actually guilty of infanticide. In a union in which spiritual kinship is lacking, even where there is towards the offspring no neglect upon the part of the parents, the death of the child, as in *Fruen fra Havet*, is felt as a divine atonement for thus sinning against the *law of the spirit*. Then the eyes of the little one haunt the vision of the guilty parent. Even as early as *Peer Gynt* this concept appears (Act I) in the scene between Peer and the three

*Sæterjenter.* From the profligate relations of one of these girls a child is born. Her lover has slain the child and put its grinning head upon a pole. The staring eyes haunt her. When the second girl refers to Peer's passion as "sparkling and sputtering like red-hot iron," the guilty mother compares it to "*the child's eye* which looks up from the darkest cairn." It is difficult to see any similarity whatsoever between the staring eye of a corpse and the red glow of iron, unless it be perhaps that the memory of the child's eyes burns like red-hot iron upon her soul. At any rate it is the child's eyes which haunts her soul, typifying by its mute stare the sin of passion and infanticide: *som barneøjne fra svarteste tjernet.*

Most especially in *Fruen fra Havet* and *Lille Eyolf* do the child's eyes appear as the symbol of a guilty relation upon the part of the parents toward the child. In *Fruen fra Havet*, Ellida has formerly been engaged to a mysterious sailor whom she now believes to have perished in a shipwreck. But she still feels an irresistible attraction towards this personality which once captivated her whole heart. In spirit she still seems to be wedded to the sea whose personification is represented in this fantastic form of the strange sailor. Her child which she bore by Dr. Wangel bears a marked resemblance to the sailor lover in having the same peculiar eyes. When the stranger returns, Ellida recognizes him only by his eyes which have a terrifying effect yet an irresistible attraction for her.

#### FRUEN FRA HAVET

##### ACT III.

Ellida (farer sammen). Ah—! (stirrer på ham, tumler tilbage og bryder ud i et halvkvalt skrig:) Øjnene!— —

Øjnene. . . . .

Ellida (føler hans blik og bryder ud). Stå ikke og se således på mig! . . . . .

Ellida (slået). Ja, jeg tror virkelig, du har ret! Synes du ikke, det var besynderligt, Wangel? Tænk,— at jeg ikke, straks kendte ham!

Wangel. Det var bare paa øjnene, sa du— —

Ellida. A ja,— —øjnene! øjnene!

In this regard we are reminded of the mysterious and irresistible influence which *Nils Lykke's* eyes exerted upon *Eline* in *Fru Inger*. That the child should inherit the features or any physical resemblance to the lover testifies to the guilty relation in which the mother felt herself to be, though such a relation existed only in her own

heart. No one but herself can see the resemblance of the child to the stranger. Her husband, a physician, assures an intimate friend of the family, Arnholm, that such an assertion is a mere aberration of her diseased condition of mind. The child's eyes were as normal as any child's at birth.

FRUEN FRA HAVET.

ACT IV.

Arnholm. Ja, men sig mig nu en ting. Denne hendes underlige, uhyggelige påstand om at barnets øjne—?

Wangel (ivrig). Det med øjnene tror jeg aldeles ikke på! Jeg vil ikke tro på sligt noget! Det må være den pure indbildning af hende. Ikke noget andet.

Arnholm. La De mærke til mandens øjne, da De så ham igår.

Wangel. Ja visst gjorde jeg det.

Arnholm. Og De fandt ikke nogen slags lighed?

But for Ellida the child is inseparably connected with the stranger with whom she has now broken her engagement. Therefore, for her the child is in part an offspring of her mystical lover and herself, though she is legally wedded to Dr. Wangel. The child's eyes remind her, with their agonizing gaze, of this unseen relation. She remembers the stranger by his eyes and by the breast pin which had in it a large bluish pearl resembling the *dead eye of a fish*. So the child's eye likewise seemed to her to resemble the different phases of the sea, shifting its color like the waters of the ocean. If the fjord lay calm and unruffled in the sunshine, so did the eyes; and in the storm the eyes shifted accordingly. And these eyes were the same as those which she saw ten years ago; they were the strangers eyes. All this symbolizes the mother's guilty relation in which she felt she stood in spirit towards a man with whom she was not wedded.<sup>8</sup> The child's eye resembles the sea, just as the

<sup>8</sup> Goethe also made use of this same theme in *Die Wahlverwandschaften*. (Part II, Ch. 8) A child is born to Charlotte, which to parties not concerned in the relations between Charlotte and the Hauptmann, Ottilie and Eduard, seems to be the perfect counterpart of its father, but Ottilie sees in the *child's eyes* a marked resemblance to herself and at the same time Mittler discovers a likeness to the Hauptmann. Afterwards (Part II, Ch. 13) Eduard also sees in the *child's eyes* the resemblance to the Hauptmann and to Ottilie: "Nicht doch!" versetzte Ottilie, alle Welt sagt, es gleiche mir." "Wär' es möglich?" versetzte Eduard, und in dem Augenblick schlug das Kind die Augen auf, zwei grosse, schwarze, durchdringende Augen, tief und freundlich. Eduard warf sich bei dem Kinde nieder; er kniete zweimal vor Ottilien. *Du bist's, rief er aus, deine Augen sind's.*

stranger, with whom the mother stands as spiritual consort, is a personification of the sea and its magical charm.

# FRUEN FRA HAVET

## ACT II.

Ellida. Ja. Ude på Bratthammeren. Aller tydeligst ser jeg hans brystnål med en stor, blåhvid perle i. Den perlen ligner *et dødt fiskeøjne*. Og det ligesom stirrer på mig. . . . . hvorledes skal vi grunde ud—dette gådefulde med barnets øjne—?

Wangel. Kære, velsignede Ellida, jeg forsikrer dig, at det var bare en indbildning af dig. Barnet havde akkurat samme slags øjne som andre normale børn.

Ellida. Nej! det havde ikke! At du ikke kunde se det! Barnets øjne skiftede farve efter sjøen. Lå fjorden i solskinsstille, så var øjnene derefter. Istormvejr også. Å, jeg så det nok, jeg, om ikke du så det.

Wangel. (eftergivende). Hm,—lad så være da. Men selv om så var? Hvad så?

Ellida (Sagte og nærmere). Jeg har set slige øjne før.

Wangel. Når? Og hvor—?

Ellida. Ude på Bratthammeren. For ti år siden.

Wangel. (viger et skridt). Hvad skal dette—!

Ellida (hvisker bævende). *Barnet havde den fremmede mands øjne.*

In *Lille Eyolf* the child's eyes play even a more prominent part in symbolizing the feeling of guilt upon the part of the mother. Here the child stands between the parents as an alienating, instead of a reconciling influence. The totally dissimilar temperaments of the parents, on the part of the wife a lack of comprehension of her husband's intellectual ideals, coupled with a primitive, sensual nature and a petty jealousy which blinds her to her duty towards her child, all this results in not only a complete estrangement between the parents but also in the death of Little Eyolf.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> So too in *Die Wahlverwandschaften* the child serves as an actual estrangement (though for an entirely different reason) between Eduard and his wife and on account of parental neglect the child, like *Lille Eyolf*, is drowned. Part II, Ch. 13. Eduard, "dies Kind ist aus einem doppelten Ehebruch erzeugt! Es trennt mich von meiner Gattin und meine Gattin von mir, wie es uns hätte verbinden sollen."



Even before Little Eyolf's death Rita, the wife, refers to the *child's evil eyes*. The child she believes has alienated her husband's affections. She feels her offspring, therefore, to be an evil influence in her life, and so to her the child seems to have *evil eyes*. When the engineer, *Borghejm*, returns from his walk with *Asta* (the supposed sister of *Allmers*, the husband) Rita learns from *Borghejm* that he has been jilted by *Asta*, the woman he loves. The scene is tense with suppressed emotion. An evil spirit seems to hover above the heads of the unfortunate lovers. To Rita occurs involuntarily the sight of those "evil eyes" which have robbed *her* of her *husband's love* and wrecked her life's happiness. Turning to *Borghejm*, she says: "I dare say that *evil eyes* have played a trick on you." *Borghejm*: "evil eyes, do you believe in evil eyes, Mrs. Allmers?" Rita: "yes, I am beginning now to believe in evil eyes, mostly in *evil child's eyes*."

# LILLE EYOLF.

## ACT I.

*Borghejm*. Se så. Nu har frøken Allmers og jeg gåt vor sidste tur sammen.

Rita. (ser studsende på ham). Ah! — — Og der følger ikke nogen længere rejse efterpå turen?

*Borghejm*. Jo, for mig.

Rita. For Dem alene?

*Borghejm*. Ja, for mig alene.

Rita. (skotter mørkt til Allmers). Hører du det, Alfred? (vender sig til *Borghjem*). Jeg tør vædde, at det er *onde øjne*, som har spillet Dem et puds her.

*Borghejm*. (ser på hende). Onde øjne?

Rita. (nikker). Onde øjne, ja.

*Borghejm*. Tror De på *onde øjne*, fru Allmers?

Rita. Ja, jeg er begyndt at tro på *onde øjne* nu. Mest på *onde barneøjne*.

Rita makes no effort to conceal her dark thoughts towards her husband (*skotter mørkt til Allmers*) when she makes reference to the influence of evil eyes and most of all, *evil child's eyes*! But the day of reckoning soon comes when these "evil child's eyes," open, staring and mute, haunt her own soul night and day, like the ghost of the murdered Caesar. There is a certain poetical Nemesis which finds Little Eyolf dead with open, staring eyes; with "those

evil eyes" which previous to his death expressed to her the cause for the alienation of her husband's love. In her selfish, unnatural jealousy she has been guilty of breaking the highest covenant of womanhood, maternal responsibility. The force of conscience gradually awakens a new sense of motherhood within her. Her hatred of her child (because, as she thought it stood in the way of her husband's love) is now transformed into a sense of responsibility for its death and into a consequent sense of guilt. So the eyes which formerly expressed for her an *evil influence*, now take on all the aspects of the relentless persecution of an *evil conscience*. Little did she think that by wishing those eyes away from between herself and her husband the law of maternal love would, thus violated, claim as an atonement the life of her only child. Nowhere has Ibsen pronounced such a severe judgment upon the lack of parental responsibility and nowhere has he given such powerful expression to his thoughts in poetic metaphors. It is this rôle of moral purification which the symbol of the child's eyes plays, lashing like an avenging fury the unfortunate, guilty mother.

# LILLE EYOLF.<sup>12</sup>

## ACT II.

Rita. Yes, they said, he lay upon his back,  
and with big, open eyes.

Allmers. Open eyes, but very quiet?

Rita. Yes, very quiet. And then something  
came and took him off, they called it a current.

Rita (lamenting). Day and night he will  
appear before me, as he lay down there.

Allmers. With those big, open eyes.

Rita (shudders). Yes, with those big, open eyes.  
I see them, I see them right before me.

Allmers (rising slowly and casting a  
threatening look towards her). Were they *evil*,  
those eyes, Rita?

Rita (turns pale). Evil—!

Allmers (goes close up to her). Were they  
*evil* eyes which stared up from the depths below?

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<sup>12</sup>On account of their wonderful dramatic strength the following passages from *Lille Eyolf* are here translated into English.

Rita (draws back). Alfred—!  
 Allmers (following her). Answer me! Were they *evil child's-eyes*?

Rita (cries out). Alfred! Alfred!

Allmers. Now we have it, just as you wished it, Rita.

Rita. As *I* wished it! What did *I* wish?

Allmers. That Eyolf were not here.

Rita. Never in the world did I wish that! That Eyolf did not stand between us two,—that's what *I* wished.

Allmers. Quite right,—hereafter he never will.

Rita (softly, staring). Perhaps all the more hereafter, (collapses), oh this grewsome spectre!

Allmers (nodding his head). Of the *evil child's-eyes*, yes.

Allmers. Who knows, but that big open, child's-eyes will not look upon us day and night.

So acute is her mental anguish and so great is her fear of the child's eyes that Rita dreads to be left alone. The ghost of her child haunts her when the darkness of night begins to fall.

### ACT III.

Rita (lamenting). Oh, do not all of you leave me!

Allmers (approaching her). Why, you said you would rather be left alone.

Rita. Yes, but I dare not. The ugly darkness is beginning to come on, and I imagine I see *big, open eyes* looking at me.

When the steamship approaches which is to take Asta from her, the lights on the vessel assume the form of *big glowing eyes* one red, the other green (the colors of the lanterns).

### ACT III.

Allmers. Now the steamship is coming. See there, Rita!

Rita. I dare not look at it.

Allmers. Dare not!

Rita. No, for it has a *red eye*, and a green one too, *big glowing eyes*.

And when at last she determines to atone for her criminal neglect by active service and by coöperation with her husband in a new life dedicated to work in behalf of children and humanity, she describes this process of moral purification as "appeasing the big,

open eyes." The curse cannot be lifted from her head until she has sacrificed to the avenging fury of conscience, her jealousy, pettiness, and evil impulses.

### ACT III.

Rita (softly, with a sad smile). I want to placate *those big, open eyes*, you understand.

In *Fru Inger* the heroine is haunted by the eyes of her dead ancestors. On this night Fru Inger is to decide the fate of her country and the life of her last child. She cannot, in order to save her country—men, bring it upon herself to sacrifice her only son, so strong is the mother love within her. The fear of losing her child in this destructive and fatal conflict with political parties in Norway produces a sort of hallucination similar to that which Rita has in *Lille Eyolf*. Many are her ancestors who have fallen in intrigue and political corruption. The ghosts of these men are abroad on this night. She sees them in the large hall adjoining; their *staring eyes* meet her from every corner.

### FRU INGER.

#### ACT I.

Fru Inger (hun kaster et stjålent blik imod riddersalen, vender sig bort som i angst og siger hviskende:—) Nu er de derinde igen. Blege spøgelser;—døde fædre; faldne frænder.—Fy, *disse borende øjne* fra alle krogene!

### III.

The belief that evil spirits infest the body or obsess the soul is a very common superstition with a very ancient and complicated history. Selfishness, violent and unconstrained passions and bestial desires are the inheritance of the natural man which claim a larger or smaller share in the character of all human beings. The evil and unclean spirits of biblical times are not lacking in modern society. Such impulses as make war on the spirit or tend to lower the moral or spiritual ideals are fittingly symbolized in Ibsen as *trolls*. The trolls are a product of Norwegian folk-lore, children of nature, ugly and repulsive to men, most always their enemies yet having much in common with human beings. They infest the mountains and woods, play mischievous and often malicious pranks upon their human brethren, stealing

men's children and putting their own ugly offspring in place of the human child (*bytting*), bewitching the bride and groom at a wedding ceremony and turning the choice food into loathsome toads and vile monsters. (cf. Asbjørnson og Moe. Norske Folkeeventyr.) Yet they move and have their being just as the human race. The struggle in which the human soul is constantly engaged, in order to conquer or at least suppress the lower impulses of human nature, is given beautiful expression in a little verse which Ibsen once wrote in an album, 1878:

"At leve er—*krig med trolde*  
i hjertets og hjernens hvælv.  
At digte,—det er at holde  
dommedag over sig selv."

"To live is—*war with trolls*  
Within the heart and brain.  
Poetry—that is to hold  
Judgment over ourselves."

In *Peer Gynt* Ibsen has set forth this concept most clearly. By living solely according to selfish impulses and by giving unlimited gratification to the demands of his sensual nature Peer is proved to be in no wise essentially different from a troll. He differs only outwardly, i. e. in appearance and in retaining the human senses. Let him bind on the Dovre-king's tail, allow his vision to be altered by slitting his eye, and then let him trust to habit to correct his taste and to make him find pleasure in the Dovre method of life and we have Peer Gynt, prince of Dovre, in nature and character a troll, carrying like all trolls the mark of trolldom on his escutcheon *være sig selv nok*. The struggle with these evil forces (*krig med trolde*), such as compromise, lust, greed, selfishness, lack of sympathy, etc., is never in Peer's case a real conflict, for he always "goes around." He avoids the moral issue, instead of facing it and "going through." The great troll-monster (*Bøigen*) encircles him on all sides rendering his escape impossible, except through the comprehension of the higher self, the vital spark of which still burns within him in his love for Solveig. The troll-monster defeats him by the corrosive force of Peer's own weakness, without using violence, for Peer's character is not strong enough to offer any vital resistance. Ibsen here depicts a man the very opposite of Brand, who takes up single handed, the struggle of compromise with the lower self; and the very opposite of himself, the man and poet "warring with

trolls within his heart and brain and holding judgment over himself."

It is always the lower, primitive instincts in man which Ibsen symbolizes in the troll. Those elemental forces so potent in the Old Norse viking, when curbed and controlled by the will, may be productive of heroic deeds. The Valkyria spirit of *Hjördis* and *Rebecca West* is inspiring and excites heroism in the souls of the men who admire these women, yet this spirit is destructive and results in tragedy if not guided in the right direction. *Hedda Gabler* and *Hilde Wangel* (in *Bygmester Solness*) both possess this lawless spirit, and like *Hjördis* and *Rebecca* give full vent to its tyrannical influence. Selfish desires, lust and jealousy are the motive power in this impelling force. Thus Hilda defines that secret impulse, which drove her to follow the master-builder with the intention of goading him on to destruction (in order to gratify her sense of conquest and complete domination over him), as the *troll* within her. When the master-builder refers to his own wild desire to attain to the impossible in his profession she calls this propensity in him "the troll." It is a wild and restless longing, calling out incessantly within him and luring him on, just as it "lashed and drove" Hilda on, until she was compelled to come to him. This unseen force is irresistible and the victim must finally yield to its impulse, whether he will or no.

#### BYGMESTER SOLNESS.

#### ACT II.

Solness (alvorlig). Har De aldrig mærket det, Hilde, at det umulige—det ligesom lokker og roper på en?

Hilde (tænker sig om). Det umulige? (livfuld). Jo da! Har De det også på det sæt?

Solness. Ja, jeg har det.

Hilde. Så er der vel—sån lidt *trold* i Dem også da?

Solness. Hvorfor trold?

Hilde. Nå, hvad vil da De kalde sligt noget?

Hilde (helt alvorlig). Det var dette indeni mig, som jeg og pisket mig hid. Lokked og drog mig også.

Solness. Der har vi det! Der har vi det! Hilde! Der bor *trold* i Dem også. Li' som i mig. For det er *troldet* i en, ser De,—det er det som roper på magterne udenfor. Og så må en gi sig,— enten en så vil eller ikke.

In this regard we are reminded of Goethe's "Das Dämonische," which drives and goads its victim on to action whether he will or no, except that Goethe emphasizes in the demoniacal power the higher as well as the lower impulses of human nature. The highly cultured and sensitive man likewise stands under the compulsion of an outside and unseen force, namely, that of his highest ideals, under such a compelling force as the *δαμόνιον* of Socrates. Just as Solness ("det er det som roper på magterne udenfor") so Goethe felt this force as something outside of himself, as something which swept him along in the course of life and carried him (when rightly guided) to the destined goal of his career. Thus Egmont, who is a literary reflection of Goethe's inner self, can brook no opposition to his course of action since he feels that he is but a tool in the hands of a higher power. Like Hilda Wangel he is lashed and goaded on by invisible spirits. Therefore, all remonstrances are in vain, he *must* follow the course prescribed for him by this outside and unseen force; hence his impatient rebuke to his well meaning and trusty friend, the secretary:

EGMONT.

ZWEITER AUFZUG.

Egmont. Kind! Kind! nicht weiter! Wie *von unsichtbaren Geistern gepeitscht*,<sup>13</sup> gehen die Sonnenpferde der Zeit mit unsers Schicksals leichtem Wagen durch; und uns bleibt nichts, als, mutig gefasst, die Zügel festzuhalten und bald rechts, bald links, vom Steine hier, vom Sturze da, die Räder wegzulenken. Wohin es geht, wer weiss es? Erinnert er sich doch kaum, woher er kam!

Ibsen too has used the term "the demoniacal" as a compelling force outside oneself that must find expression in the individual. But as in the case of the "troll" the "demoniacal" represents solely the lower impulses of human nature. So in *Vildanden* Dr. Relling, who inflates all those about him with the "life-lie," makes the drunkard *Molvik* believe that the regular debauches to which the latter is subject is the influence of a *higher* power which Relling calls "the demoniacal," for *Molvik* is a theological student: "Kandidat *Molvik* er *dæmonisk*, ser De."

There are good as well as evil impulses in human nature and of this Halvard Solness is conscious when he refers to "the troll"

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *von unsichtbaren Geistern gepeitscht* with Hilde's words: *det var dette indeni mig som jog og pisket mig*, and Solness': *det er det som roper på magterne udenfor*.

within himself. These impulses he describes, using a metaphor akin to that of *the troll*, as "good devils" and "bad devils", "light-haired devils" and "dark-haired devils."

BYGMESTER SOLNESS.

ACT II.

Solness (går om på gulvet). Å, der er så urimelig mange dævlere til i verden, som en ikke ser, Hilde!

Hilde. Dævlere også?

Solness (stanser). Snille dævlere og onde dævlere. Lyshårede dævlere og svarthårede. Vidste en bare altid, om det er de lyse eller de mørke, som har tag i en.

But the symbol of the troll is always uppermost when it is a question of evil impulses. The impulse which drove the master-builder and Hilde together and which finally caused his destruction is the troll which has also "sucked the life's blood" from his innocent wife.

BYGMESTER SOLNESS.

ACT III.

Solness. Ja, dævlerne! Og troldet indeni mig også. *De har tappet alt livsblodet af hende.*

This superstition that trolls bleed their victims found expression previously in *Peer Gynt*. When Peer tries to intimidate the innocent Solveig he threatens to haunt her at night, visiting her in the form of an ugly troll. "I will draw off thy blood into a cup," he says (*jeg tapper dit blod i en kop* -cf. *Bygmester Solness. De har tappet alt livsblodet af hende.*

In *Naar Vi Døde Vaagner* all the grotesque figures of the animal world haunt the artist Rubeck in the busts which he has wrought since the time when Irene left him. The absence of the *spiritual* element which was the origin of his genius produces in his figures the ugly appearance of brute animals, an element which is visible only to himself since he alone feels the great loss of the spiritual element in his work. The carnival in the Dovre Hall with all its bestial aspects (*Peer Gynt*. Act I) cannot be compared to the repulsive figures which Rubeck sees in the creations of his own hand. Without there is a likeness to the model after whom the bust has been chiseled; this the world (*mobben og massen*) sees. But within, in the concept and spirit of the form, lies that which is visible only to the artist, viz. the artistic conception. From this conception all spirituality has vanished.



NOR VI DØDE VAGNER.<sup>14</sup>

## ACT I.

Professor Rubeck (smiles blandly). They are not really portrait-busts that I fashion, Maja.

Fru Maja. What are they then?

Professor Rubeck. There is something treacherous, something hidden, within and back of those busts,—something secret which men cannot see. Only I can see it. Without there is that "striking likeness," as they call it, which people stand and stare at in such astonishment—(lowers his voice)—but down at the very bottom they (the human busts) are respectable, honest *horse-physiognomies*, obdurate *ass-snouts*, crest-fallen, low-browed *dog-skulls*, fattened *swine-heads* and insipid, brutal study-portraits among them too.

Fru Maja (indifferently)—all those dear domestic animals then.

Professor Rubeck. Only those dear domestic animals, Maja; all those beasts which human beings have bungled and distorted in their own likeness and which in revenge have distorted human beings.

In the Epilogue we have the literary expression of the poet's confession of life.—"Is the artistic or the ideal life worth living?" he seems to ask. What life is, he seems to have answered in the little verse of 1878—"to live is—to war with trolls within the heart and brain." Success in life is not an outward but an inward thing. It lies not in the adulation or admiration of the world, as "the mob" viewed the artist Rubeck's portrait-busts, but in the inner adjustment of the lower primitive, human impulses with the highest ideals of the spiritual man. Thus man gradually conforms to the conditions which shall be imposed on him in *The Third Kingdom*. But ere he can do this the troll-monster and all its kind must be vanquished. The symbol of the troll has a far-reaching import and touches one of the most vital doctrines in Ibsen's philosophy of life.

Though by its very nature symbolism must be indefinite (a poetic rather than a philosophic device), yet we cannot overlook the significance of its bearing upon the inner conception of the poet's work. The writer realizes the fragmentary nature of this article, hoping that an exhaustive treatise upon this subject may be some day undertaken.

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<sup>14</sup> Again I have yielded to the temptation to translate the original into English on account of the peculiar dramatic strength of this passage.

## SHAKESPEARE IN SWEDEN

It is generally held to be a fact that a troupe of German actors, calling themselves "English Comedians," visited Sweden in 1648; but of their activities and concerning their repertory, there exists no definite, reliable information. The discovery in Lund of a copy of the first edition (1594) of *Titus Andronicus*, in January 1905, brought forth conjectures to the effect that Shakespeare had been somehow introduced into Sweden much earlier than was supposed. There is, indeed, on record that another band of so-called English Comedians had specially performed at a Duke's wedding in Nyköping, as early as 1592. Translations of a few of Shakespeare's plays, either from the original or from the French, were acted in Gothenburg during the eighteenth century, but none of these, so far as is known, was ever printed.

It is now a century since the first of Shakespeare's dramas was published in Sweden. A translation of a scene from *Coriolanus* appeared in 1796, but *Macbeth* was the first of his plays to be printed in Swedish. It was published in 1813, in the university town of Uppsala. This translation, which is not at all times true to the original, was made by Eric Gustaf Geijer, the greatest of Swedish historians. Geijer had spent a year of travel and study in England. Three years later there appeared, in Stockholm, the next Shakespearean rendering, a version of *Julius Cæsar* by Georg Scheutz; a second edition of this was printed in 1831. *King Lear*, translated by yet another hand (S. Lundblad), appeared in 1818. The following year *Hamlet* was produced, with marked success, at the Royal Theatre, Stockholm; it was published the same year. This was a mediocre, curtailed version, in prose, by Granberg and Åkerhjelm. In it the vindictive voice of the Ghost is heard in the final scene, and the tragedy closes with the dying Prince giving vent to these interpolated sentiments:

"Posterity, forgive my crimes! Heaven, grant me atonement!"

The next year there appeared a second translation of *Hamlet*, mostly in prose, by Olaf Bjurbäck; and a version of *The Merchant of Venice* by Scheutz. This Scheutz was not a littérateur only, but a publisher as well; and five years subsequent to his publication of *The Merchant*, he brought out translations of five plays of Shakespeare by Johan Henric Thomander. These were: *The Merry*

*Wives of Windsor, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, Antony and Cleopatra, and Richard II.* Thomander was a clergyman of the state church. He also translated plays of Aristophanes, Voltaire, and Byron. In a letter to a friend some years after his Shakespearean renderings had been printed, he complained that he had lost in the transaction between six and seven hundred crowns. After Hagberg, Thomander is the foremost of Swedish translators of the English poet.

*Othello* first appeared in Swedish dress in 1826. The version was by Carl August Nicander, the poet,—whom Longfellow met in Rome. Twenty-five years after the publication of Geijer's rendering, *Macbeth* was again brought out in book-form and was performed in Stockholm. This translation was made from Schiller's text, by H. Sandström. In the following year a new version (Westerstrand's) of *Julius Cæsar* appeared. In 1845 F. A. Dahlgren's translation of *Romeo and Juliet* was published, and produced at the Royal Theatre.

From 1847 to 1851 (almost simultaneously with the Danish complete Shakespeare by Lembcke, 1845-50) there were printed *Shakespeares Dramatiska Arbeten*, rendered into Swedish by Carl August Hagberg. This collection includes thirty-six plays; *Pericles* being omitted. There have been published four regular editions; and a revised, abridged version, by W. Bolin, with illustrations by John Gilbert, was brought out in 1879-82. Hagberg, who was professor of modern languages in the University of Lund, devoted nearly eleven years to his translation. From "The Shakespeare Society" of England he received a commendatory epistle and a collection of Shakespeareana. Hagberg was a scholarly, conscientious workman, and his version is, of course, the generally accepted text of Shakespeare in Swedish.

A new translation of *The Merchant of Venice*, by Nils Arfwidson, was presented at the Royal Theatre in 1854, and was printed in the same year. In recording that, we come to the end of our bibliography of Shakespeare's dramatic works in Swedish. It might be added, for the sake of completeness, that Thomander had published, in 1827, fragments of *Timon of Athens* in a magazine. Opera-texts in Swedish have been printed of *Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet, Othello, The Taming of the Shrew*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. *The Sonnets*, rendered into Swedish by Carl Rupert Nyblom, appeared in 1871, and five years later Adolf Lindgren

published his version of *The Rape of Lucrece*. With the English texts of Shakespeare printed in Sweden we have herein not concerned ourselves.

Lamb's *Tales* have been twice translated into Swedish, in 1851 and in 1882. The quaint romance, *Shakespeare and his Friends*; or *The Golden Age of Merry England*, by Robert Folkstone Williams, appeared in Swedish in 1839, the year after its publication in London. Shakespearean critics there have been not a few in Sweden. Among the more notable ones may be named, Bernhard Elis Malmström, Carl Rupert Nyblom and Dr. Henrik Schück, rector magnificus of the University of Upsala. Professor Schück's biography of the dramatist (1883) is the standard work on Shakespeare in Swedish. In 1908-09 Strindberg, who more fittingly than any other writer his country has produced can be called the Shakespeare of Sweden, published striking commentaries on nine of the great poet's plays. Shakespeare's name has been spelled in four or five ways in Sweden, the most common orthography being *Shakespeare*.

The English dramatist has been acted in Sweden, as we have seen, since the eighteenth century, at the latest. Exactly how many of his plays have been performed there, it is difficult to say. Following are the pieces that we know to have seen the footlights of the Swedish stage: *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Lear*, *Winter's Tale*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Twelfth Night*, *Merry Wives*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Missummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*. The foremost Shakespearean actor the Swedish theatre has known was Edvard Swartz. He impersonated eight rôles from Shakespeare; his unrivalled masterpiece was the Prince of Denmark. Shakespeare's plays are to-day frequently given sumptuous and sympathetic revivals in Stockholm.

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## REVIEW.

Wolf von Unwerth, *Untersuchungen über Totenkult und Ödinnverehrung bei Nordgermanen und Lappen*. 1911, pp. 178, (No. 37 of *Germanistische Abhandlungen*.)

The valuable monograph of Wolf von Unwerth attempts to establish for one point, the cult of the departed, what has been assumed more generally and definitely established for certain fields by the investigations of Fritzner. K. Krohn, and A. Olrik, namely that most of the customs of the Lapps are borrowed from their nearest and more advanced neighbors, the Scandinavian. To recall very briefly some of the results of these previous studies: it was established by Fritzner that in certain acts of ritual both names and things are borrowed; by Krohn and Olrik, that the use in them of pastries and brass objects, of sacrificial gifts in the shape of little boats, etc., are not indigenous with the Lapps. Both name and function of the divinity Horagalles point back to the Norse Thor-Karl, and Waralden (may be Frey (-veraldar gud)). And a number of minor divinities and practices are parallel to Old Norse prototypes.

All this information of Lappish loans becomes, secondarily, valuable for throwing light on the original religious customs of the Scandinavians about which, it will be recalled, very little is found in our sources, however well we are informed about their mythology. On the other hand, thanks to the intelligent endeavors of the Norwegian and Swedish missionaries of the 17th and 18th century, there is a considerable body of information on Lappish mythology and rites. Again, much critical sifting is necessary, in the case of the Old Norse monuments required for a comparative study of the question, in order to determine which sources offer reliable information on customs and beliefs obtaining during the heathen times and which items in folklore reflect genuine old material. The author proceeds with commendable caution in this, most difficult, part of his task.

There is a universal belief among the Lapps that the dead enter into certain mountains and there live on, leading a better existence than on earth. These mountains are venerated and enjoy a special cult. The best clothes are to be worn in their neighborhood, no hunting is permitted near them, nor any uncleanliness or disrespectful action. At times, mortals have been admitted to the realms of the departed and were given good cheer and advice. In their turn the mountain dwellers occasionally issue and have intercourse with mortals. The mountains inhabited by them are worshipped with sacrifices. Frequently there is set up a stone of peculiar or human aspect which functions as altar. This stone is smeared with butter and the blood and fat of animals. Any neglect of these sacrifices is revenged by the spirits who inflict sickness and death on man and beast.

Notwithstanding the fact that similar traits of ancestor worship occur among many peoples the resemblances to Old Norse cult are too strong to be brushed aside. v. Unwerth very justly classifies Old Norse conceptions about the life of the departed into two main groups. The one is the belief that the departed enter into certain mountains. It is exemplified in the famous passage in the *Eyrbyggjasaga*: Thórolf (a first-settler) called a certain promontory

Thórsness. On this there stands a mountain and Thórolf felt such veneration for it that he gave orders that no one was to look that way without first having washed. No killing was to be done on that mountain. He called it Helgafjall (Holy Mountain) and believed that he as well as his kinsmen would enter into it after death. One night the shepherd of his son Thórstein saw how the mountain opened up. Inside he saw great fires and heard horns and the noise of a big feast. Listening, he heard the company welcome Thórstein and his boat crew. The son was bidden to take the high seat opposite his departed father. On the next morning it is learned that Thórstein and his crew were drowned. It is to be noted that sacred mountains, such as Holy Fell, are not burial places, however.

According to a parallel conception the departed dwelled in their burial mound, sometimes making unsafe their former habitat. At times a passer-by hears them speak a verse on their present condition or past exploits. And heroes have been known to invade the abode of the *hangbúi* to rob him of the treasures buried with him. These are standing motives in the *Fornaldarsagas* and by far less trustworthy as reflecting ancient beliefs.

Still further, as the author demonstrates, the Northern elfin cult (cf. *alfsblót*) which closely resembles the Lappish cult of the dead belongs here. Even the sacrificial stone image of the Lapps is found again in the *hørg* which, according to Thümmel, originally designated a rock or knob, but was used as the more primitive place of worship as against the later more elaborate *hof* or temple. Most likely it consisted of a simple stone altar constructed of slabs and situated on the slope of some mountain (witness the frequently recurring phrases *hamra ok hørg*, *hørg né haugr*, but not *hof* etc.) on which sacrifice was made. Cf. *Hervarsaga* ch. 2: "She smeared the *hørg* with blood."

In Lappish belief, disease and death are due to the power of the departed as it must be their endeavor to draw the living into their sphere. Hence especially near relatives are thought to be desirous of their accustomed company, causing injury and death to the remaining family and their animals, unless appeased by sufficient sacrifice.—The historic Icelandic sagas are full of instances of a similar nature. In many cases an epidemic seems to be explained in this fashion. A well-known instance is the *Glámr* episode of the *Grettissaga*. Again, we have the related belief widely spread over all the Germanic North, of the "Alfenschuss," "elleskud" etc.—some infirmity brought about in animals and men by the missiles of envious elves. They are appeased by smearing the elfin stones with fat and butter.

Very instructive is von Unwerth's aperçu how, with all the identity of fundamental conception, the national traits are very clearly evident. Instead of meekly appeasing the troublesome dead, as do the timid pacific Lapps, the more aggressive Norsemen defend themselves with the brutality of the living, opening the mound and rendering the spectre harmless by the most energetic means. Only the elves, as being more unapproachable, are feared and venerated.

The particular god of death among the Lapps is Rota, an evil demon who plagues both man and beast. To appease him, horses are sacrificed to him; and, to judge from certain indications, human sacrifice to him was customary in earlier times. The spirit *Mübenaimo* is closely akin to him in function, but

has through Christian influence assumed some of the characteristics of Satan. In Lappish cult the veneration of the dead and of Rota are closely allied. As to the latter, it is entirely beyond doubt that the sacrifice of horses among a people which has no horses cannot be indigenous. Accordingly, A. Olrik made the successful attempt to identify Rota with the Óðin, of the Scandinavians: he is one of the main divinities of the Lapps and, like Óðin, ruler over the kingdom of the dead. Like the Old Norse god he is imagined as a horseman, he appears to men in a blue cloak, is followed by a wolf, and horses are offered up to him.

v. Unwerth makes it his special task to inquire in how far our information about the cult of Rota may be used to fill out the picture of Óðin as furnished in Scandinavian monuments and to corroborate recent views as to his chthonic attributes as lord of night and death which (contrary to the general impression) seem to be the underlying elements of this godhead.

In order to show forth the conception of the god as it prevailed during the latter centuries of the heathen period—which is the only one which could have influenced Lappish mythology in a similar direction—reliance has to be laid chiefly on Scaldic poetry, whose merits in this respect are, not only its indubitable age, but also its many kennings presupposing definite and universal comprehension of the myth or cult alluded to. E. g. the knowledge of the hanged god is proved by the kennings *galga farmr* "the burden of the gallows," i. e. Óðin (*Háleygiatál*), *gagl hanga* "the goose of the hanged, i. e. the raven" (*Hákonardrápa*) etc. Besides there are, of course, as many direct statements; as when we read in the *Hákonarmál fara með Óðin* "to fare to Óðin," *drekka of at Óðins í öndvegi* "to drink beer in the highseat by the side of Óðin" etc., showing knowledge of the Valhalla myth.

The Eddic poems, besides being of doubtful age, are too much under suspicion of Christian influences and of conscious mythologizing. Neither the historians, still less the Fornaldarsagas are to be trusted implicitly. The most interesting feature of v. Unwerth's book is, then, his rich collection of materials, chiefly from Scaldic poetry, shedding light on Óðin as the god of death. The resulting picture as was indicated is widely different from the current impression. He is not only the god of victory, of battle, of poetry, the lord of a paradise for fallen warriors. Sickness and death also are his work, even the hanged, the drowned and the poisoned enter into his realm. It stands to reason that the strict division of the abode of the dead into Valhalla and Hel's dominion is in no wise to be maintained. As to this belief in the realm of the dead it probably developed from the family belief in certain mountains into which their dead members entered.

Of course, comparing Rota and Óðin, it is readily observed that, the cult of the latter is vastly more variegated. To many sides of Óðin there is no correspondence whatever in the figure of Rota. E. g. the Lappish people, which was never warlike, had no use for a war-god. Nor was there any occasion to borrow the conception of a god of poetry. Still, enough similarities in cult and conception remain to justify the inference that the function of Óðin as chthonic deity was widely spread in the oldest times. Other evidence is found in folklore and the Fornaldarsagas, but overshadowed and intertwined with much later conceptions.

The author proceeds with commendable caution in disentangling old from new in this baffling maze of popular tradition. There is only one major instance in which I find it impossible to agree with him. In section 73 the legend of the disappearance of the Yule feast in Hálfðan Svarte's Hall, told in a number of sources, is referred by the author to Ódin's mischievous interference. However, it was irrefutably shown by Moltke Moe<sup>1</sup> that the main source of this legend is an old, widely spread story (Goldener motive). More especially, the feature of the disappearance of the food from the feast is borrowed from a Welsh story in the Mabinogion (Lludd and Llevellys), and was only at a much later time associated with Ódin. The prose of the *Grimnismál* on which von Unwerth relies is secondary and in no wise reflects old beliefs.

It is curious that von Unwerth says nothing about the etymology of Norwegian-Lappish *Seite*, *Seita* (idol of wood or stone) which of course has nothing to do with German *Zeit* (! p. 12)<sup>2</sup> but seems to be derived from O. N. *seidr* "witchcraft, magic"; also that the name of Swedish Lapps for similar idols, *Junkare*, certainly owes its origin to Norwegian where the "amtmand" (governor) was called *junker*.<sup>3</sup>

Of the three excursus on Old Norse literature the second, dealing with the Glám episode of the *Grettissaga*, is particularly convincing. The extravagant notion of Boer that this story is based on an old moon myth is there shown to be untenable, whereas it becomes increasingly probable that it is, much rather, a gotten-up literary ghost-story composed of elements loaned from the *Eyrbyggjasaga*, the *Hávardarsaga*, and from folklore.

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<sup>1</sup> "Finnerne i gamle historiske sagn," in Helland's *Finnmarkens Amt*, p. 599. This article ought to have been mentioned among the authorities. In another part of the same volume there is the most compact and authoritative description of Lappish ethnology, folklore, history, etc. to be found anywhere.

<sup>2</sup> At least, the printing is misleading.

<sup>3</sup> Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi* p. 99. 139.



# NOTES: RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

*Meisterstücke im Museum vaterländischer Altertümer zu Stockholm. Abgebildet und beschrieben* von Oscar Montelius, Berlin, 1913. Heft 1. 2. Of the large folio numbers, 1 contains ten plates of beautiful and in every respect excellent illustrations of objects from the ages of stone and bronze together with accompanying descriptions. The latter give the date object was found, its nature, age and critical material. The objects included are examples of the battle hammers and flint daggers, bronze weapons, collars, buckles, etc., and the gold and silver ornaments from the unique collection of the National Museum of Stockholm. Number 2 contains ten plates of objects from the Middle Age period. These include three plates of the altar decoration of Broddetorp, West Gothland, three of the mitres from the cathedral of Linköping, one of the figures enlarged showing the details of its ornamentation; one of the jewelled golden buckles found near Kimstad in 1818; one of tapestry from Skokloster, Upland, one of a silver reliquary in the shape of a hand and forearm from Linköping. The reproductions which are remarkable for the clearness of the detail-work have been made by the Cederquists Grafiska Aktiebolag of Stockholm. The author and the publishers are to be congratulated upon getting out a work such as this. It can be used to great advantage as illustrative material in college classes in history or Scandinavian culture. Any private library will be the more valuable for containing these illustrations of the art and the civilization of Sweden in the pagan age and in early Christian times.

An edition of the *Edda, Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern, I Text*, pp. 7-331, edited by Gustav Neckel has just been issued by the publisher Carl Winter, in Heidelberg. It appears as Vol. IX in the second division of investigations and text of the Germanistische Bibliothek, the first division of which is composed of grammars and handbooks. It has been the editor's object to give a true picture of the texts according to the manuscripts, however, with normalization of the orthography. A new feature of this work is the attention paid to the language of the main MS., the editor's researches, especially upon the vocalism of final syllables, being announced to appear soon in the *Beiträge*. In practice their results are here applied. The emphasis upon syntax and style rather than upon metre distinguishes this new edition. The conservative editorial method followed is commended and it is a distinct gain to have all departures from the original italicized and corrupt wordforms always indicated. Also the recording of the scribal errors and corrections of the MSS. is a happy feature.

With MSS. 49 and 50 of the *Old Lore Series* issued in July, 1914, Vol. VI of the *Old Lore Miscellany* of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland was complete. The numbers contain new notes, a continuation of John Firth's "An Orkney Township before the Division of the Commonty," so interesting in its contributions to folklore, and, e. g., A. W. Johnston's "Orkney and Shetland Folk," II, of historical, genealogical and dialectal content. Of real interest also is Jessie M. E. Saxby's article on "Food of the Shetlanders Langsyne" in the April number and a glossary of some thirty new dialect words offered by A. W. Johnston.

In *Nynorsk Ordbok for Rettskriving og Literaturlesnad* Matias Skard offers a small and convenient dictionary of "landsmaal" intended for the higher schools. It is a new wholly revised edition of the editor's *Landsmaals-ordlista*. The effort is in evidence of including especially less well-known words of the landsmaal literature, words not sufficiently approved being bracketed. As regards orthography there is now and then a somewhat greater approach toward "riksmaal" than before, as in *glitter* for *glitr* and *bygsel* for *bygsl*, and words which are written alike in both languages are starred (\*). The work which is neatly gotten up is published by H. Aschehoug & Co. (1912, p. 249).

*Danske Ordsprog især fra Thy, samlede af Søren Ditlevsen*, Copenhagen, 1912, p. 51, is an interesting collection of proverbs and facetious sayings from Thy, Denmark. There is an interpretative introduction by Carl Ludvigsen, pp. 3-24. The pamphlet appears as *Danmarks Folkeminder*, No. 8.

It is an interesting contribution to Norwegian literary history that Sofie Aubert Lindbæk has made in *Fra det norske Selskabs kreds*, 1913, p. 168 (Aschehoug). The work offers a number of hitherto unprinted short poems and letters of J. Zetlitz, S. Monrad, J. Rein, Lyder Sagen, et. al. Especially will a group of letters of Nordahl Brun be read with interest; there are no less than seventeen from Zetlitz and nineteen from Rein. These letters throw many an interesting side light upon the life and the literary strivings of the time. Thus on Jan. 15, 1822, Sagen writes Rahbek from Bergen giving a rather circumstantial account of "en liden Secularfest til Holbergs Minde" on the eleventh of that month, for which occasion Sagen composed the memorial ode.

Under the title *Barneeventyr* H. Aschehoug & Co. have published a revised edition of selections from Asbjörnson and Moe's Folk-tales. The editor is Professor Moltke Moe. The selections are graded from the most elementary to more serious epic folk-tale and language and style has been revised. It seems to me this little volume of 112 pages could very conveniently and profitably be used for a part of the reading in elementary Norwegian in schools, though to be sure, there is no vocabulary. To the well-known tales two new ones are added from Moltke Moe's collection: "Grisen og levemaaten hans" and "Reve-enken." There are twenty-eight illustrations drawn by Th. Kittelsen. Two similar volumes are to follow.

J. Byskovs *Dansk Sproglære*, Copenhagen, p. 142, while not a recent book (1910) deserves to be called to the attention of all who are interested in present-day Danish speech. The work is intended for private study as much as for the school and may be recommended as a safe, clear and also interesting account of the main facts in Danish grammar. The author belongs to those who, while dealing with a modern language, use illustrations from its earlier periods or even from other languages wherever these seem to be needed to explain the present forms. There is a brief Introduction on the non-Scandinavian king of Danish and a short but very good bibliography of Scandinavian aids to the study of Danish.

In an earlier number of this publication we announced as in press *Swedish Grammar* by A. Louis Elmquist. This work appeared during the past summer. The publishers are the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Co., Chicago, who have thus made a most welcome contribution to the aids now available for the teaching of Swedish. Space does not permit a review of the book here; we shall

merely call attention to it. Its plan was spoken of at the time of its announcement. The grammar is given in XXV lessons, followed by appendices, grammatical, syntactical and bibliographical. There is a Swedish-English vocabulary, an English-Swedish vocabulary and Index, p. 322. The editor and publishers are both to be congratulated upon furnishing us with this attractive handbook for Swedish classes.

We are also able to announce by the same editor as now in press *Phonology of the Swedish language*; this will also be issued by the Engberg Co., of Chicago. The pronunciation of present Swedish will here be given detailed attention and the small volume may conveniently be used with the grammar. The reform orthography is employed throughout both books.

*Liljecrona's Home. A Novel by Selma Lagerlöf. Translated from the Swedish*, by Anna Barwell appeared from the press of E. P. Dutton & Co. during the summer. A brief examination of the work gives the impression that this beautiful story of the great Swedish romancer has been conscientiously and appreciatively rendered. The translator has succeeded in reproducing in its English dress much of the quaintness and the magic charm of the Swedish original. And she shows a knowledge of fine shades of meaning in certain colloquial and characteristically Swedish turns of expression and the equivalent English that is rather above that evidenced in most English translations of Swedish literature. Of course a careful examination would probably elicit things for which we should have preferred a different rendering. On p. 83 "because she talked so beautifully" is incorrect for "därför, att hon talade om så mycke vackert" and the rendering loses something that the original has; and the omission of the comparison with Gurlita in the next last sentence on p. 7 is also a loss; omissions of this kind are always to be discouraged. I should also have translated Vetterpojkar "the Vetterboys" and jungfru Vabitz, "Miss Vabitz," not "the Vetterlads" and "Mamsell Vabitz". The word *lad*, e. g., has an undertone of meaning that is correctly associated with *Lillgossen* in the rendering Little-Lad but incorrectly associated with Vetterpojkarne.

Helga Eng's *Abstrakte Begreper i Barnets Tanke og Tale*. Psykologiske Undersøkelser paa Grundlag av Iagttagelse og Eksperimenter med Skolebarn, Christiania, 1912, p. 192, is a very capable piece of work upon a field of educational research that would seem to deserve greater attention than it has received in the past. It is the problem as to what extent the inability to form abstract concepts is especially characteristic of the mental life of the child and in the growth of what degree the ability at abstraction that the author wishes to throw light on. The subjects were 100 pupils in Christiania common schools in 1507-1508. The investigation is technical-psychological but such a chapter as "Abstrakte begreper og barnesprogets grammatik" II, pp. 26-62 offers much also of more general interest. The book is published by H. Aschehoug & Co.

The final form that the national epic of the Finns, *Kalevala* took at the hands of Lönnrot goes back to 1849. In that year the second enlarged edition of it appeared comprising fifty songs of a total of 22,793 verses; as early as 1835 Lönnrot had published 32 songs. In 1852 A. Schiefner published his German translation; the work was printed at Helsingfors, its excellence being in no small measure, due to the interest and assistance of the Finnish scholar Castren. This translation has now been republished, in revised form and annotated,

by Martin Buber, in a stately and attractive volume entitled *Kalevala, das National-Epos der Finnen*, Munich, 1914, pp. 482. Not having access to the first edition I cannot say to what extent the reviser has departed from it; but the translation seems to be in every way excellent. The simplicity and the earnestness of the original its general style, its ballad-like repetitions and its epical variations seem indeed to be well rendered.

Among recent publications on Holberg appears also *Holberg og England* by Viljam Olsvig, published at Christiania, 1913, pp. 346. The author is well-known as a writer on Holberg, the present volume being the results of recent studies carried on in Oxford and London, and deal especially with Holberg's stay in England in 1706-1708. He devotes a chapter to London as Holberg found it in 1706 and one to Holberg's England and Holberg's Englishmen. Others follow on English historians with a view to the possible influences on Holberg, on religion and politics, Holberg's emancipation, Holberg's silence on the England of his time, especially 1720-1740, etc., etc., together with a mass of material, most of it new, upon Holberg's English days. The work is somewhat uneven in its character, offers considerable source material, but can hardly be given credit for anything more than that.

*The Scandinavian Element in The United States, A Study of Scandinavian Immigration and its Results*, is the title of a work prepared by Dean K. C. Babcock for the *Illinois University Studies in the Social Sciences*. The Study which is now in press, and will appear as Vol. III, 3, in that series, considers from the beginning the economic and the intellectual forces at work, the social and religious history of the Scandinavians in this country, education, organization of the colleges, the church, political influence, lawmaking, etc., etc. The work is an able effort to interpret every phase of the intellectual life of the Scandinavians in the Northwest, and as such the first of its kind to deal thus broadly with the subject. It is sympathetic in treatment. The author has before published various articles upon the Scandinavian nationalities in this country, through which he is already known to a large number of our members. As an historian and an educational expert he has much to say that is of interest to our nationalities and should be of great value to us.

The phenomena of umlaut and breaking are of more far-reaching importance for the early history of the Scandinavian languages than any other. Much has been written about them in the past, and a number of important contributions have been made in recent years, involving restating and modifying earlier views. And the articles in question are scattered throughout a number of chiefly Scandinavian and German journals. It was therefore a timely undertaking when Prof. Axel Kock, whose own studies form such an important part of the present theory of umlaut and breaking, decided to publish a reconsideration and résumé of the whole subject. The author deals with the question here chiefly from the standpoint of Old Swedish but of course the outline is of general Scandinavian application and not a little of it also general Germanic. The publication which is printed in German has the title *Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen; Eine Uebersicht, I-II*, and appears as Rektor Kock's addresses on the occasions of the Installation of three new professors in Lund University in 1911 and 1912.

These *Notes* announced last June as soon ready for publication a volume of *Comedies of Holberg* to be issued by the American Scandinavian Foundation. The volume has just now appeared as this number goes to press. There are three comedies: *Jeppe on the Hill*, *The Political Tinker* and *Erasmus Montanus*, jointly translated by Dr. Oscar J. Campbell and Frederic Schenck, with an Introduction by Dr. Campbell, pp. XV-178. The translation appears as Vol. I of Scandinavian Classics, of which Vol. II, *Poems of Tegnér* is published simultaneously. The two volumes are well printed and attractively bound. The Foundation is to be congratulated for the choice made in beginning the series of classics and for the form in which they are published. The text of Vol. II is Longfellow's translations of *Nattevardsbarnen* and *Frithiofs Saga*. An Introduction is furnished by Paul R. Lieder of Harvard University. Neither time nor space permits a review of the two works here; of at any rate the former the writer hopes to offer a somewhat exhaustive review later, possibly in this publication. In the meantime these volumes are recommended to English readers; the Foundation hopes for a wide circulation of them.

The Foundation has also just issued Vol. I of *Scandinavian Monographs*. It is *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America* by William Hovgaard of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and makes a volume of 304 pages. The work is profusely illustrated (eighty illustrations) and there are seven maps. The illustrations are, with hardly an exception, excellent, unusually clear and beautiful, and the printer, D. B. Updike, the Merrymount Press, Boston, has, as regards printing, produced a most attractive volume. The work is the outgrowth of many years of scholarly interest in the subject on the part of the author. What was begun as an article on questions of navigation in the Vinland voyages grew into a book, as in pursuing the work the author was led to study the views of different authorities on important historical and geographical questions relating to the voyages. He embodies the results of his inquiries into controversial points as well as an analysis of the saga accounts. The work will be of great interest to Scandinavians and especially of course to students of American history. We shall look with interest to expert historical opinion on this work.

Höf islenzka Fræðfjelag in Copenhagen has under the title *Amalísrit til Dr. Phil. Kr. Kálund* published a volume of Icelandic studies dedicated to Dr. Kálund on his seventieth birthday, August 19, 1914. The sketch of Kálund's life by Finnur Jónsson gives a brief account of the life-work of the eminent Danish philologist, who has given his best energies to investigations in Icelandic culture and literature and who has contributed so much to make Old Norse scholarship what it is at the present time. There are six articles by Björn M. Olson, Bogi Th. Melstedt, Finnur Jónsson, Sigfús Blöndal, Thorvaldur Thórðssen and Valtýr Guðmundsson, whose contribution: "Ur sögu islenzkrar búninga" contains interesting material on certain parts of Icelandic apparel (*brækur* and *hosur*) supplemented by illustrations. The frontispiece is an excellent likeness of Kr. Kálund.

A work that will be of interest to all students of the Icelandic sagas is the *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*, now in preparation and to be published by THE SOCIETY OF ICELANDIC LETTERS in Copenhagen under the editorship of Finnur Jónsson. This "Farm Register" was, as Icelandicists will know, prepared by Magnússon and Vídalín by the request of the Danish

government in 1702-1714. It enumerates all farms and cottages, their owners and tenants, describes the quality of the lands and their produce, gives the rents and duties, number of cattle, sheep and horses on each farm, country churches, deserted farms and why they were deserted, houses in towns, fishing stations, etc. It will readily be seen that the value of such a publication goes beyond that of its importance as the chief source of the economic history of Iceland in the beginning of the 18th century. There will be about 5,000 pages in all to be sold at a total price of 135 kroner—\$36 (Gad. Copenhagen).

Professor Marius Hægstad of Christiana University has for sometime been engaged upon investigations in the pronunciation and inflexional forms of the West Norwegian dialects in Middle Norwegian times. The first results of these investigations are now in the process of publication. When it has appeared we hope to be able to offer a somewhat detailed review of it in this journal.

Announcement may be made also of Elmquist's edition of *Fänriks Ståls Sägner*, to be published by the Augustana Book Concern. There will be notes on the text, especially stylistic matters; an Introduction dealing with the life of Runeberg and the Swedish-Russian wars, particularly that of 1808-1809; a vocabulary and list of irregular and strong verbs. College classes in advanced Swedish will be able to use this edition in the second semester, as it is announced for issue about Jan. 1st, 1915.

In the last issue of *Publications* (I, page 273) reference was made to Hjalmar Lindroth's "En omtvistad etymologi" in *Xenia Lidéniana*, in connection with our discussion of O. N. *illr*. For a review of this volume and a fuller statement of the article in question see a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.

